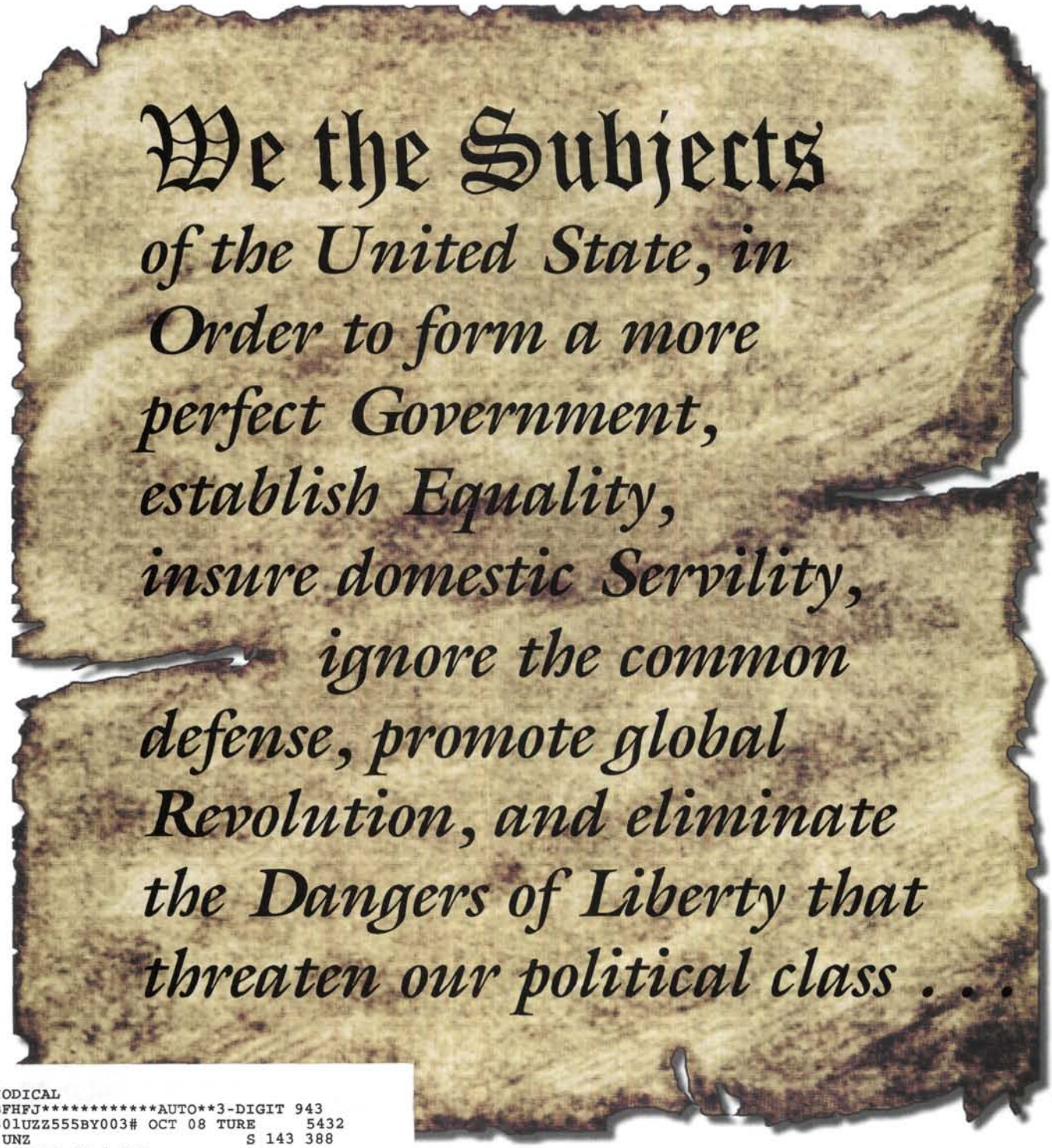
Chronicles

August 2005 A MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN CULTURE $3.95



PERIODICAL
#BXBFHFJ**********AUTO**3-DIGIT 943
#94301UZZ555BY003# OCT 08 TURE 5432
RON UNZ S 143 388
555 BRYANT ST # 371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704

"The Republican Party's Welfare Queens"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WAR ON TERROR
Are We Winning or Losing?

Four hard-hitting and candid panels that reveal where America truly stands in her "War on Terror."

THE FAILURE OF THE WEST

The Return of the Ottomans
While Europe and the United States clamor for the allegedly modern, secular state of Turkey to join the European Union, the last six human-rights advisors to the Turkish government have resigned in protest of their government's anti-Christian policies. Learn about the real Turkey and the chilling historical context from Dr. Thomas Fleming, editor of *Chronicles*.

Selling Muhammad the Rope
Col. Ronald Hatchett, former Reagan Administration arms negotiator, questions American antiterrorist rhetoric in light of a history of one foreign-policy blunder after another in the Middle East, arming and subsidizing people who hate America.

THE THREAT WITHIN

Legislative Reform *Versus* Jihad
Dr. Stephen Presser, *Chronicles'* legal-affairs editor and Raoul Berger chair of legal history at Northwestern University Law School, asks if the PATRIOT Act accords with the American legal tradition and finds enthusiasm in unexpected quarters for interpretations of the law that would support aggressive, proactive antiterrorist policies.

Islamic Cells in the Heartland
Scott P. Richert, executive editor of *Chronicles*, discusses the alarming growth of Islamic schools in America's heartland, looks at curricula designed to form the next generation of jihadists, and asks, "Can *sharia* happen here?"

CLOSING THE DOOR

Immigration and Terrorism
Wayne Allensworth, intelligence analyst and native Texan, paints a grim picture of America's southern border and the current administration's failure to acknowledge, much less address, a problem that is no longer simply a matter of culture or economics but of national security.

Learning From Canada's Mistakes
Ambassador James Bissett, former director of the Canadian Immigration Service, describes the effects that Canada's appallingly lax citizenship laws have on the security of all of North America, forcing him to conclude that Canadian efforts in the War on Terror are little more than "feeble."

WEAK LINKS IN THE WAR ON TERROR

With Allies Like These . . .
Dr. Srdja Trifkovic, director of The Rockford Institute's Center for International Affairs, considers the War on Terror in light of American foreign policy in the Balkans, where independence for Kosovo and the centralization of Bosnia-Herzegovina threaten to facilitate the spread of *jihad* into the heart of Europe.

Washington's Failed Policy in the War on Terror
Thomas W. Pauken, former chairman of the Republican Party of Texas, looks at the wholesale takeover of American foreign policy by the neoconservatives and proposes a plan for a restoration of authentic conservative politics.

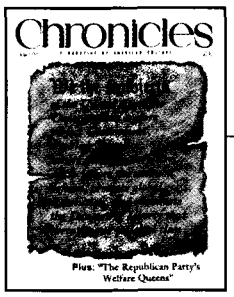
Special introductory price (includes shipping & handling):

Audiotapes $30.00
CD's $35.00

To order, please call Cindy Link at (800) 383-0680.
Mention code R05CFIAWOTS for tapes
or code R05CFIAWOTSCD for CD's.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chronicles
A MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN CULTURE



PERSPECTIVE

The Republic We Betrayed 10
by Thomas Fleming
Enslaving ourselves.

VIEWS

Republicanism, Monarchy, and the Human Scale of Politics 14
by Donald W. Livingston
Our kingless monarchy.

Powers, Principalities, Spiritual Forces 17
by Harold O.J. Brown
Charging toward the *Dies Irae*.

Please Tread on Me 20
by Clyde Wilson
Thus always to presidents.

NEWS

The Republican Party's Welfare Queens 23
by Doug Bandow
May a thousand Enrons bloom.

REVIEWS

Things That Go Bump in the Night 26
by Scott P. Richert

Russell Kirk: *Ancestral Shadows*

Catharine Savage Brosman on Valerie Hemingway's *Running With the Bulls: My Years With the Hemingways* ◆ **Clark Stooksbury** on Brian C. Anderson's *South Park Conservatives: The Revolt Against Liberal Media Bias* ◆ **James O. Tate** on Mark Feeney's *Nixon at the Movies: A Book About Belief* ◆ **Paul Gottfried** on Victor S. Navasky's *A Matter of Opinion* ◆ 29

CORRESPONDENCE

Letter From Paris: A Hydra With Two Heads 34
by Curtis Cate

Letter From Washington, D.C.: Faith-Based Immigration by Don Barnett 35

VITAL SIGNS

THE CONSTITUTION: **Raiching the Constitution Over the Coals** by William J. Watkins, Jr. 40

Killing Off Limited Government 42
by Doug Bandow

MORALITY: **The Legacy of Sandra Dee** 43
by B.K. Eakman

COLUMNS

BREAKING GLASS 13
by Paul Gottfried

THE AMERICAN INTEREST 38
by Srdja Trifkovic

IN THE DARK 46
Cinderella Man*, *Batman Begins
by George McCartney

THE HUNDREDTH MERIDIAN 48
by Chilton Williamson, Jr.

DEPARTMENTS

POLEMICS & EXCHANGES 4

AMERICAN PROSCENIUM 6

CULTURAL REVOLUTIONS 7

POETRY
Antipodean Reflections in Canterbury 12
and *London to Edinburgh—A Train Journey* 18
by Peter Hunt

ON THE COVER

Cover and inside illustrations by Melanie Anderson.
Additional inside illustrations by Elizabeth Wolf.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EDITOR
Thomas Fleming

EXECUTIVE EDITOR
Scott P. Richert

SENIOR EDITOR, BOOKS
Chilton Williamson, Jr.

ASSOCIATE EDITOR
Aaron D. Wolf

DESIGNER
Melanie Anderson

INTERIOR ARTIST
George McCartney, Jr.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS
Katherine Dalton, George Garrett, Paul Gottfried, James O. Tate, Clyde Wilson

CORRESPONDING EDITORS
Wayne Allensworth, Janet Scott Barlow, Bill Kauffman, Donald Livingston, Roger D. McGrath, William Mills, William Murchison, Andrei Navrozov

FILM EDITOR
George McCartney

FOREIGN-AFFAIRS EDITOR
Srdja Trifkovic

LEGAL-AFFAIRS EDITOR
Stephen B. Presser

RELIGION EDITOR
Harold O.J. Brown

CIRCULATION MANAGER
Cindy Link

PUBLISHER
The Rockford Institute

A publication of The Rockford Institute.
Editorial and Advertising Offices:
928 North Main Street, Rockford, IL 61103.
Website: *www.chroniclesmagazine.org*
Editorial Phone: (815) 964-5054.
Advertising Phone: (815) 964-5813.
Subscription Department: P.O. Box 800,
Mount Morris, IL 61054. Call 1-800-877-5459.

Copyright © 2005 by The Rockford Institute.
All rights reserved.

Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture (ISSN 0887-5731) is published monthly for $39.99 (foreign subscriptions add $12 for surface delivery, $48 for Air Mail) per year by The Rockford Institute, 928 North Main Street, Rockford, IL 61103-7061. Preferred periodical postage paid at Rockford, IL and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Chronicles, P.O. Box 800, Mount Morris, IL 61054.

The views expressed in *Chronicles* are the authors' alone and do not necessarily reflect the views of The Rockford Institute or of its directors. Unsolicited manuscripts cannot be returned unless accompanied by a self-addressed stamped envelope.

Chronicles
Vol. 29, No. 8 August 2005
Printed in the United States of America

On Covering Islam

As a paleoconservative and traditional Catholic, I greatly enjoy *Chronicles* and look forward to every issue. I am, however, increasingly disturbed by the consistent and growing demonization of Muslims in the magazine. I think it is quite reasonable to accept that Islam has some extremely rough edges. It has bloody borders, most terrorists are Muslims, Islam is only occasionally a "religion of peace," and the expression "moderate Islamists" is pretty much an oxymoron. In addition, the Islamic Third World is a demographic threat to our Christian culture.

But what is true of some Muslims is not true of most. Terrorists are only a tiny percentage of Muslims, and few believe in the forcible conversion of infidels. Also, the repeated groupthink characterization of Muslims as inimical to the values that we hold dear ignores the cultural, national, and intellectual diversity of what constitutes Islam. The evils that *Chronicles* warns against are largely externalized and really amount to blaming the wrong party. It should be acknowledged that we in the West are often the problem, because of our failure to value the Christian and Western culture that we have all but discarded.

As a former CIA operations officer who has lived and worked in both Europe and the Middle East, I have known and worked with literally hundreds of Muslims, undoubtedly including some referred to as "jihadists" by Dr. Thomas Fleming in the June issue. My Muslim friends and associates come in all shapes, sizes, and colors. Though there are Muslims who are bad men, as in any group, I have generally found them to be compassionate, tolerant, caring, hospitable to a fault, and patriotic. They are remarkably similar to what good Christians should be like and, but for the patriotic bit, rather unlike the narrow-minded evangelical Christians I encounter every day in suburban Virginia. I suspect that your contributors, largely academics or intellectuals, appear to know everything about Islam and Muslims but understand little.

There are many points in the June issue that I would dispute, but for reasons of brevity I will pick on Dr. Fleming's piece on Turkey ("The Suicide Strategy of the West," *Perspective*, June). I have lived in Turkey, speak Turkish, and visit there frequently. No one would dispute that the ruling AK party has Islamic roots, but the roots of Kemalism are deeper still. Turkey has a large, secular middle class and an Army General Staff committed to maintaining Turkey's constitution. That current prime minister Erdogan was imprisoned in 1998 for reading an Islamic poem should suggest that secularism in Turkey is far from toothless. As for the Ottoman Empire, Dr. Fleming cites the views of numerous unnamed "political intellectuals," whatever that means, expressing nostalgia for the glory days of the sultan and caliphate. Curiously, I have never heard such a view expressed. Dr. Fleming's recount of European and Turkish history is also frequently faulty. For example, Venice is maligned as an Ottoman poodle in spite of the fact that it fought bloody wars against the Turks in 1453, 1470, 1499, 1537, and 1570. One might reasonably recall that Venice was a small trading republic living next to an early-modern superpower. Dr. Fleming is also apparently unaware of the limits that the European Union has imposed on possible Turkish entry into the community—mass emigration of laborers from Anatolia will not be permitted.

I sometimes wonder what the point is of some of Dr. Trifkovic's articulate, scholarly, and well-reasoned but ultimately empty articles on Islam. They are overflowing with anger. His first piece in the June issue, entitled "Aid and Comfort to the Enemy" (*American Proscenium*), begins reasonably by castigating the Muslim Brotherhood but then winds up predictably in the Balkans. He follows up with "Getting Europe Straight" (*Views*), which seems to have no point except to restate *ad nauseam* the position that there are too many Muslims in Europe for the good of the continent and that the European Union is accelerating the process. Excluding George Bush and his advisors, who understand nothing, we all agree with that. Let's determine what we have to do to alter that reality.

We have to learn to coexist with Islam and the world's more than one billion Muslims, like it or not. Clearly, it is possible selectively to revisit history and to play

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with historical analogies all day to come up with damning conclusions about the interplay of Islam and the West. In the 15th century, the Ottoman Turks were both admired and reviled by Europeans, seen positively as a dynamic state that was heir to the traditions of the Byzantine Empire and negatively as the cutting edge of the sword of Islam. Probably they were both, but the current reality is what matters. By all means, let us seriously revisit the immigration policies both in Europe and the United States that will ultimately transform the Christian and Western culture that we rightly should be promoting. But as we examine the very real issues in a reasonable fashion, it behooves us as good Christians to regard Muslims as moral and responsible individuals very much like ourselves, not as part of an undifferentiated gray mass that exists in our minds only as a threat.

—Dr. Philip M. Giraldi
Purcellville, VA

Dr. Trifkovic Replies:

Dr. Giraldi's observation that "what is true of some Muslims is not true of most" is correct but irrelevant. Like other ideologies, Islam is pushed along by vocal minorities. The controlling minorities in Islam *do* want to convert the world and readily admit to that aspiration.

His observation that terrorists are "only a tiny percentage of Muslims" is also correct but misleading. For some years now, Muslims have provided the only variety of terrorism that threatens us, and, without them, terrorism would not be a major issue in our lives.

Dr. Giraldi reluctantly accepts the "Islamic roots" of the ruling party in Turkey but proceeds to make the remarkable assertion that "the roots of Kemalism are deeper still." In fact, Turkey is a polity based on an Islamic ethos, regardless of its political superstructure. The Kemalist ideology has never penetrated beyond the military and a narrow stratum of urban elite centered in Istanbul. The lack of cultural rootedness of Turkey's political elites remains as serious a problem today as it was in Ataturk's times, and, in many minds, the question about the awakening of the dormant Islamic volcano is not *if* but *when*. The parallel with Iran is alarming. Backed by the United States, the Turkish generals have pursued a policy of militarization as a means of solving the tension between modernization dictated from above and religiously expressed resistance from below—just as the shah did.

I am puzzled by the accusation that my "articulate, scholarly, and well-reasoned" articles on Islam are at the same time "overflowing with anger." Dr. Giraldi's opinion that they are "ultimately empty" would pain me more had it come from a respectful and well-meaning source. His caricature of my article "Getting Europe Straight" proves that he is neither. His failure to grasp the main point of that article—that President Bush and his team share an outlook based on Jacobin universalism and propositionalism with the leaders of the European Union—may indicate that he is reading the wrong magazine.

I agree that "we have to learn to coexist with Islam and the world's more than one billion Muslims," but, to that end, we need a sober assessment of what we are dealing with. While it is "possible selectively to revisit history" in order to reach preordained conclusions on Islam, most revisiting is being done by apologists for Islam, such as John Esposito and Karen Armstrong.

Dr. Giraldi's assertion that "it behooves us as good Christians to regard Muslims as moral and responsible individuals very much like ourselves" is wrong. Good Christians should seek to liberate Muslims from the shackles of their cult and to introduce them to Christ.

Dr. Fleming Replies:

Dr. Trifkovic has been far too kind to Dr. Giraldi, whose complaint is devoid of logic, historical evidence, and moral sanity. To refute the massive evidence of Islamic oppression and violence, Dr. Giraldi relies on his personal experiences. He has met many nice Muslims in Turkey. So have I, but I have also met nice communists and nice neo-Nazis. However, I do not suppose the presence of a nice person in the Gestapo would do much for the reputation of that agency, any more than the CIA would be redeemed by the presence of an honest man.

Dr. Giraldi says he has been reading *Chronicles*. I find that difficult to believe, since he apparently does not even know what our position is. We have always advocated justice and fair play for Islamic countries, even as we have done our best to warn Americans against the growing danger. As a practical cloak-and-dagger man, he disdains book learning. This may explain why, without attempting to refute my account of Venice's contribution to the siege of Belgrade, he trots out his *World Book* list of Venetian conflicts with the Ottoman Empire, not noting that the most serious of these conflicts were brought on by reckless Turkish policies. It is an undeniable fact that the *Serenissima* regularly and actively collaborated with the Turks, whenever it paid. Even a popular history of Venice would reveal to Dr. Giraldi that her first response to the conquest of Constantinople was to figure out what she could get out of it. There is a long line of Western collaborators with the Turks, from the Venetians and Genoans who helped Mehmed II, to Louis XIV, who attacked Austria just as her troops were driving the Ottomans out of Europe, to Disraeli, who threw Eastern Christians to the Turkish wolves. In one brief letter, I cannot undertake the historical education of the CIA. The task is too formidable, but he might begin with my *Montenegro: The Divided Land*, which will give him just a little part of the story of Ottoman oppression of European Christians. If Americans want to understand how ill served they have been by our well-funded intelligence apparatus, they only have to read Dr. Giraldi's letter.

Like many vehement critics of Israel, Dr. Giraldi has drawn the irrational conclusion that the enemy of his enemy is necessarily his friend. I do not see why a grown man may not criticize Ariel Sharon without defending the leaders of Hamas. But this is not, apparently, how they are taught to think in the CIA, an agency that has been systematically funding, arming, training, and justifying Islamic terrorism in Europe (to say nothing of Afghanistan). I think if I had been a CIA "operations officer"—what a nice word—working with Muslims (he does not say doing what), I should not now have the nerve to continue to defend my peace-loving Muslim friends.

If Dr. Giraldi wants to take out his anger at Israel while apologizing for over 1,300 years of *jihad* against Christians, I am sure he can find more suitable publications in which to inject his disinformation. The West is weak enough these days and does not need self-described "traditional Catholics" to pick up where Louis XIV and Benjamin Disraeli left off.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by Srdja Trifkovic

Iraq: The Way Out

Two years and three months after President Bush announced the end of "major combat operations" in Iraq, the war is far from over. Large areas of the country are affected by an open-ended guerrilla insurgency. Periods of intense violence are followed by brief and temporary lulls. Vice President Dick Cheney asserted on May 31 that the insurgency was in its "last throes" (to the privately expressed consternation of U.S. officers on the ground), but the number of daily attacks now exceeds 70; it is more than twice the figure for February. Those attacks are carefully planned and coordinated: over a ten-hour period on the night of June 22, for instance, seven car bombs killed more than three-dozen people in Shiite Muslim neighborhoods of Baghdad. The first half of May saw 21 suicide attacks in the nation's capital; whereas, in the whole of 2004, there had been only 25 such attacks.

Monthly Central Command estimates, according to which thousands of insurgents have been killed or captured, may be correct, but the ability of the resistance to attract new recruits and step up the violence remains undiminished. Local U.S. military successes, such as the Fallujah operation last fall, appear temporary and even meaningless in the absence of a broad strategic design to end the war by political means. In the meantime, not just the countryside but many towns in the center and west of the country are now effectively controlled by the insurgents.

The attackers, mostly Iraqi Sunnis reinforced by some hundreds of foreign *mujahideen*, seek to make Iraq ungovernable by exploiting sectarian divides and fomenting an ethno-religious civil war. Fallujah has taught them to avoid direct confrontation with U.S. forces, so they focus on Shiite soft targets instead: restaurants, mosques, and bus stations. They have also killed about a thousand members of Iraqi police and security forces in the first half of 2005, which exceeds the total for the previous 18 months, and those forces are still far from able to stand their ground. The attackers' individual targets of choice are prominent Sunnis who favor cooperation with the United States and seek involvement in politics. Salih Mutlak of the National Dialogue Council—a moderate Sunni group—warns that, if these operations continue, many Sunnis will have to end their participation in the emerging Iraqi institutions.

Back home, support for the war is dwindling. A recent Gallup poll found that six out of ten Americans favor partial or total withdrawal, while just 42 percent feel that the war was "worth it," down from 76 percent in the spring of 2003. Some Republican lawmakers are beginning to voice their doubts. Rep. Walter Jones of North Carolina, whose district includes the Marines' Camp Lejeune and who suggested replacing French fries with "freedom fries" on the menu in Capitol dining rooms, has joined Ron Paul of Texas and two Democrats, Dennis Kucinich of Ohio and Neil Abercrombie of Hawaii, in calling for a disengagement timetable. Such a display of bipartisan skepticism would have been unimaginable last year, but, with the 2006 midterm elections approaching, the lawmakers with slim majorities are paying attention to their constituents who are uneasy about the war. "Do we want to be there 20 years, 30 years?" Jones asked, adding that "we need to take a fresh look at where we are and where we're going."

That fresh look is indeed overdue, and it should start with accepting that the Iraqi insurgency has political causes that are neither mysterious nor incurable. American insistence on Iraq's national unity has produced a major shift in the balance of political forces away from the previously dominant Sunni community. It is 5 million strong but has only 17 members in the 275-member National Assembly. The Sunnis fear—with good reason—that, in an Iraq dominated by a tactical alliance of Shiites and Kurds, they will be the perpetual losers. The result is the forging of an alliance of anti-Western nationalists and Islamic radicals within insurgent ranks.

The creative solution would demand flexibility, imagination, and ruthlessness. It should have three key elements: First, it is necessary to address Sunni concerns and to support a constitutional arrangement that would transform Iraq into three self-governing entities, with a weak central government that would make all decisions on the basis of a clear consensus of the three subgroups. A constitution thus drafted would pave the way for a referendum in October of this year and national elections in December in which all communities would finally have a stake.

Second, it is necessary to prevent a joint Shiite-Kurdish front against such proposals by winning over the Kurds. This demands the lure of substantial Kurdish autonomy in a decentralized Iraq (whether Ankara likes that or not), with the parallel warning to the Kurds that, in the final analysis, they have less reason to fear the dethroned Sunnis than Sistani and his Shiites, whose long-term goal is to turn the whole of Iraq into an Islamic republic ruled by *sharia*. The Shiites' continued good will, by contrast, may be purchased by allowing them to develop closer ties between their putative statelet in the south and their coreligionists in Iran.

Third, it is essential to create a split within the ranks of Iraqi insurgents between those who are driven primarily by nationalist and tribal motives, and those, such as Zarqawi, who simply want to use Iraq as an episode in the global anti-American *jihad*. Establishing a working rapport with secular-minded Sunni leaders demands overcoming distaste for a dialogue with former Baathists and Saddam loyalists. They may be tainted, but a truce and a deal with them is possible; it could contain the promise of amnesty and a timetable for U.S. disengagement clearly predicated on an improved security situation. American troops could then be gradually replaced with the contingents from those few relatively reliable partners we have in the region—notably, Egypt and Jordan.

A plan constructed along these lines, preferably but not necessarily approved by a U.N. Security Council resolution, could be supported by the European Union and Russia if they are offered a lucrative share of a future Iraqi reconstruction package. It contains many unknowns and may generate new dynamics that are difficult to predict and control. It also offers a chance for disengagement without any further harm to America's standing and without Iraq's further transformation into a chaotic, ungovernable base for *jihad*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE DOWNING STREET MEMO, a British-government document on Iraq leaked in May to the *Sunday Times*, may be as close as the American public will get to a "smoking gun" implicating the Bush White House in manipulating this country into war. A July 23, 2002, memo (actually, the minutes of a British cabinet meeting) written by Matthew Rycroft, a Downing Street foreign-policy aide, appears to confirm what *Chronicles* maintained even before the ill-fated imperial adventure in Mesopotamia: The Bush White House desired a war with Iraq and was willing to twist, distort, even fabricate "evidence" to justify an invasion. And neither the White House nor Downing Street has denied the authenticity of the memo.

The key paragraph in the particularly infamous memo (one of a number of documents leaked to British journalist Michael Smith) reports on the impressions of "C" (Richard Dearlove, then head of MI6, the British intelligence service) after a visit to Washington. According to "C," the White House viewed military action against Iraq as "inevitable." President Bush "wanted to remove Saddam through military action" and to use the "conjunction of terrorism" and weapons of mass destruction (WMD's) to justify war. The White House was so intent on war that "the intelligence and facts were being fixed around the policy." "C" maintained there was "little discussion in Washington of the aftermath" of military action, implying that the Bush administration had no postwar plans for Iraq and no exit strategy. (The apparent lack of U.S. postwar planning was also mentioned in other leaked Downing Street documents.) Judging by Dearlove's observations, the Bush administration was growing impatient and wanted to get on with the war, was willing to "fix" intelligence to justify "regime change," and was not especially concerned with planning ahead.

Rycroft's memo further reported that the United States was then contemplating two options for the coming war. The first, dubbed "generated start," would involve a slow buildup of U.S. forces, a quick air campaign and a strike at Baghdad, something like the "shock and awe" operation that was eventually launched. The second seemed to point to possible U.S. plans to provoke an incident to justify a "running start" option. In this option, the United States would use forces already in the region, launching an air campaign "initiated by an Iraqi casus belli." In the meantime, the Pentagon "had already begun 'spikes of activity' to put pressure on the regime" months before Congress authorized military action in October 2002.

As related in the British memos, at least some U.K. cabinet members advised against a rush to war. British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw thought it "clear that Bush had made up his mind to take military action" but called the case for war "thin." The U.S./U.K. coalition needed a pretext for war since Saddam was "not threatening his neighbors" and his WMD capability "was less than that of Libya, North Korea, or Iran." These are important admissions, since both British Prime Minister Tony Blair and President Bush cast the alleged Iraqi threat in almost apocalyptic terms before the war. (President Bush, for instance, told reporters in September 2002, that Iraq could launch a chemical- or biological-weapons attack in 45 minutes.) Straw suggested posing an ultimatum to Saddam on allowing U.N. weapons inspectors back into Iraq. Such an ultimatum would "help with the legal justification" for war, as Saddam would likely refuse.

In another leaked memo from March 25, 2002, Straw wrote that there was "no credible evidence" linking Iraq to Osama bin Laden or September 11, a connection the Bush White House was alleging at the time to manipulate U.S. public opinion. And what would come after regime change? Again, Straw contradicts the public line of the war party, writing that installing a democracy in Iraq seemed highly unlikely. Straw wrote that Iraq "has NO history of democracy. No one has this habit or experience."

True, the Downing Street memos show us only what British-government officials were thinking. We have no equivalent from the White House. Nevertheless, when taken together with the mass of material readily available to anyone curious enough to log on to the internet, it seems clear that the White House manipulated this country into war.

What's missing in all this is the question of Bush's motivation. Why did this president personally want a war with Iraq? Bush was apparently obsessed with Iraq long before he became president. During the 2004 election campaign, journalist Russ Baker interviewed the *Houston Chronicle*'s Mickey Herskowitz, who worked with Bush on a ghostwritten memoir (*A Charge to Keep*). Herskowitz told Baker that Bush "was thinking about invading Iraq in 1999 . . . He said, 'One of the keys to being seen as a great leader is to be seen as a commander-in-chief.' And he said, 'My father had all this political capital built up when he drove the Iraqis out of Kuwait and he wasted it.' He went on, *'If I have a chance to invade . . . if I had that much capital, I'm not going to waste it. I'm going to get everything passed that I want to get passed and I'm going to have a successful presidency.'*" According to Baker, White House communications director Karen Hughes eventually took charge of the project, and Bush staffers took Herskowitz's notes and tapes of conversations with Bush.

Herskowitz, Bob Woodward (*Bush at War*), and Richard Clarke (*Against All Enemies*) have all told similar stories regarding Bush's predisposition toward war with Iraq. It's likely that the pro-Israeli dispensationalist views of Bush's evangelical Christian Zionist supporters (and the Likud lobbyists in his administration) played a role in his intent to go to war. The sheer fun of imperial games and military adventures, too, may have been more than Bush II could resist. And the oil lobby may have made arguments for the "strategic" value of Iraq. If what Herskowitz claims is true, however, it was old-fashioned political cynicism that did the trick for "W." Perhaps he and Karl Rove were made for each other.

—Wayne Allensworth

GUANTANAMO BAY is the subject of continuous debate. Can the United States detain indefinitely members of the Taliban captured in Afghanistan, or Al Qaeda insurgents captured in Iraq, at our military base in Cuba? What sort of interrogation measures are permissible by international law in order to obtain information to protect Americans from the continuing threat of terrorism? What rights, under international law and treaties, are the detainees entitled to? No one

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

knows the answers to any of these questions, because they are matters of first impression. We have never been engaged in a struggle quite like this one; we have no treaties with the terrorists; and, while particular protocols, such as the Geneva Conventions, govern the treatment of prisoners of war declared by sovereign countries, there is no authoritative pronouncement from the U.S. Supreme Court regarding treatment of the Gitmo detainees. Some lower courts have suggested that the detainees are entitled to some form of "due process," but no one knows precisely what that means.

As might be expected, given that some of the detainees were bound, sooner or later, to find legal counsel and bring lawsuits, the Bush administration has been fairly careful, as events in wartime go. The detainees appear to have food of at least as high a quality as the soldiers who are their caretakers; they are allowed to keep copies of the Koran; they have medical treatment available; and, apparently, none have yet died as a result of their treatment in captivity. Commentator Michelle Malkin reported that "[e]very single detainee currently being held at Guantanamo Bay has received a hearing before a military tribunal," where detainees may contest the facts on which their classifications as "enemy combatants" are based. "As a result of those hearings," according to Malkin, "more than three dozen Gitmo detainees have been released." These status hearings are apparently comparable to the requirements of the Geneva Conventions and appear to be fully consistent with the Supreme Court's recent *Hamdi* v. *Rumsfeld* decision, which held that, in the case of U.S. citizens detained in military custody, due-process requirements, such as hearings and an opportunity to contest one's detention, must be provided. This is probably more than any other similarly situated country has done to secure the rights of her sworn fanatical enemies.

Still, the critics of the Bush administration's conduct have not been mollified. In the most interesting instance, the senior senator from Illinois, Richard Durbin, took to the Senate floor on June 14 to read from what he claimed was an account of interrogation at Gitmo recorded by an FBI agent. Some detainees had been shackled, the agent reported; sometimes, the air-conditioning was turned off, rendering cells too hot, and sometimes it was turned up, rendering them too cold; rap music was played incessantly to soften up detainees to get information out of them. In words that he soon came to regret, Durbin declared: "If I read this to you and did not tell you that it was an FBI agent describing what Americans had done to prisoners in their control, you would most certainly believe this must have been done by Nazis, Soviets in their gulag, or some mad regime—Pol Pot or others—that had no concern for human beings. Sadly . . . this was the action of Americans in the treatment of their prisoners." Durbin proceeded to call for an investigation.

Instead of launching an investigation, however, the senator's comments ignited a firestorm. The obvious points were gleefully made by Republicans: Hitler, Stalin, and Pol Pot had killed tens of millions, and this doesn't exactly compare with turning the air-conditioning on and off. Durbin also touched the rhetorical third rail in American ethnic politics, since no one is now permitted to invoke the holocaust except to protest the holocaust. After Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley (one of the few sensible moderate voices in the Democratic Party) castigated Durbin for his Nazi comparison, and after a week of refusing to back down, Durbin went back to the Senate floor and did the requisite tear-filled, voice-choking, crow-consuming apology.

Wholly apart from the problem of whether there is any law that governs what we do in terrorist detentions, and whether what we are doing is necessary in a struggle of this kind, it does appear that the President's critics have yet to find an acceptable critical political vocabulary to analyze the War on Terror.

—*Stephen B. Presser*

TWO WOMEN MARINES and a female Navy petty officer were killed, and eleven were wounded, when their convoy was ambushed on the night of June 23 in Fallujah. The Pentagon took several days to confirm the casualties, and media coverage was thin. If Americans took note of the tragedy at all, it was not to recoil (at last) at the horror of mothers, wives, and daughters dying on the battlefield. On the contrary, the single bloodiest day for American women in the Iraq war (the deadliest for American women in uniform since a kamikaze claimed the lives of six nurses aboard the U.S.S. *Comfort* in 1945) moved us one step closer to accepting women in combat as routine. Nearly 50 female American soldiers and Marines have died in Iraq and Afghanistan. Over 300 have been wounded. At least ten American children have lost their mothers to the war. Contrast these figures with the total number of American female war dead during the entire Vietnam War: eight nurses.

Courageous journalists such as Brian Mitchell and organizations such as the Center For Military Readiness have presented enough evidence to choke an elephant that women are not equal to the rigors of combat and that further sexual integration of the Armed Forces will undermine our national defense. Their arguments are ignored by feminists, who, rather than confront the reality that the Armed Forces use softer physical-fitness standards for women than for men, speak of equal opportunity and American values. Marine Lt. Col. Sara Phoenix, currently serving in Fallujah, told *USA Today* that "The ideal of equality is not just about the right to vote or work. This notion that women are somehow not able to perform their jobs in the military in a combat environment flies in the face of everything we say we value in the USA."

Does it? Americans value 19-year-old girls being raped and sodomized as prisoners of war and 23-year-old single mothers being torn apart by shrapnel? Where is the public outcry?

The groundwork for the events of June 23 began decades ago with legislation such as former senator Pete Dupont's sexual integration of the service academies. At the time, the idea of women on aircraft carriers, much less in the cockpits of fighter jets, would have been laughable. When women are at last assigned to submarines, Americans will not even notice.

Republican legislators take pains to point out that it is women in combat to which they object, not women in the military. The Iraq war has shown this to be a distinction without a difference. As the more practically minded Army Sergeant Rachel Deaton told *USA Today* of her assignment in Baghdad, "I could stay on base my whole time here and be in just as much danger," adding that keeping female soldiers out of the line of fire would require "keep[ing] us in Kuwait."

That is not likely. American law, for now, prohibits women from serving in combat-arms specialties such as infantry, armor, and artillery; however, the Army, determined to push the envelope, now "collocates" female soldiers in support specialties with forward-deployed combat units in Iraq. Since these support

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

jobs (mechanics for the most part) could be filled by men, we do not have to think too hard to determine the Army's intentions—particularly when, on June 16, to much fanfare, 23-year-old Sgt. Leigh Ann Hester was awarded our nation's third-highest award for valor, the Silver Star, for killing three Iraqis in a firefight. Sergeant Hester is a believer, telling the *Washington Post* that "Women can basically do any job that men can." Mission accomplished. The ghost of Jessica Lynch has been exorcised at last.

Sergeant Hester is not the first woman to be awarded a Silver Star. Two nurses earned the medal in World War II for heroism at Anzio. Hester is, however, the first woman to be decorated so highly for action in close combat. If purists are concerned with whether affirmative action might have influenced Sergeant Hester's award, they can compare her citation to Silver Star citations from World War II, Korea, and Vietnam. The more important question is, "Why was a woman in a situation where she might earn a Silver Star in the first place?" The media attention lavished on Hester provides the answer. In the *Post*'s words, "[t]he medal, rare for any soldier, underscores the growing role in combat of U.S. female troops in Iraq's guerrilla war, where tens of thousands of American women have served . . ."

—*Christopher Check*

WHENEVER WASHINGTON targets some poor, misbegotten country for "regime change," references to that unfortunate nation's media by Western journalists are usually preceded by the modifier *state-owned* or *state-controlled*. The inference is clear: These guys are shills, not real journalists. Yet the West has its own state-owned and controlled media: The Brits have the BBC, and continental Europeans all run the same show, the only difference being that the strings are a bit more visible. State-funded propaganda is a feature of American "journalism" as well, although here the effort to pretend that PBS isn't following a political line is more elaborate—and even convincing on occasion.

For example, during the Kosovo war, the *NewsHour With Jim Lehrer* (the PBS flagship news show) aired a segment on *Antiwar.com*—at a time when the Clinton administration was emitting a barrage of war propaganda designed to justify an attack on a country—Serbia—that represented no threat to the United States or her legitimate interests. During the Iraq war, however, they did no follow-up story—and the reason seems to be a discernible shift in ideological tone.

No one denies that public television and National Public Radio have an unmistakably liberal tinge, but one aspect of the liberal tradition that allows other views to get through the door is at least a formal commitment to intellectual diversity and open discussion. Under the previous regime, while it was undoubtedly biased leftward, some truly dissident conservative or libertarian views that might otherwise not be heard somehow slipped through the cracks. I seem to remember that PBS once interviewed Joe Sobran during the Clinton years, an experience that both parties will doubtless not soon forget.

Under the new Bushian dispensation, which deems that ideological "balance" must somehow be achieved, there's no chance that anything outside the narrow spectrum running from the neoconservative left to the neoconservative right is ever going to sully the mundane purity of PBS's centrist soul. The new chief honcho of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, Kenneth Tomlinson, has declared that public television and radio are "biased" and need more "balance"—which, in practice, has meant that the neoconservatives have been able to smuggle themselves in as representatives of the officially approved "right-wing" point of view.

A case in point is *Tucker Carlson Unfiltered*, a new show featuring the bow-tied poster boy for politically correct "conservatism" and a panel of guests who span the spectrum from the *Weekly Standard* to the *New Republic*: David Frum, Jonah Goldberg, Steven F. Hayes, and David Horowitz, representing the neocon right; Peter Beinart, Christopher Hitchens, and Katrina vanden Heuvel representing the left—with two out of three being left-neocons.

Not content to grab the spotlight for themselves, the neocons in the Bush-run CPB are angling to purge the place of liberals—or, indeed, anyone deemed hostile to the current regime. The May 2 *New York Times* reported, "Without the knowledge of his board . . . Tomlinson contracted last year with an outside consultant to keep track of the guests' political leanings on one program, 'Now with Bill Moyers.'" In a June 16 report, the *Times* exposed Tomlinson's $14,700 in payments to someone by the name of Fred Mann, a longtime Washington-based political consultant whose last position was as director of the job bank and alumni services at the National Journalism Center in Herndon, Virginia. The center trains young ideologues for jobs as journalists, seeding the print media and the airwaves with up-and-coming neocons and party-line Republicans. Sen. Byron Dorgan (D-ND) reveals that Mann's job was to keep tabs on the various talking heads invited by PBS to share their views, and the results are Orwellian: "We have all of these sheets that describe the guests and it says: anti-Bush, anti-Bush, pro-Bush, anti-Bush. It appears to me to be not so much an evaluation of is this slanted, is it liberal, does it have an agenda; it is the evaluation of is this program critical of the president?"

The Republicans never even tried to get rid of American's state-run media: They aim to take it over and turn it into their own propaganda organ. Given that PBS, like the Post Office, will always be with us, this attempt to turn public broadcasting into a high-toned version of Fox News deserves a rude rebuff.

—*Justin Raimondo*

OBITER DICTA: Mark your calendar now for The Rockford Institute's inaugural **Winter School**, January 2006, Rome. The theme for the week, "Lions and Christians," will consider the contributions of the early Roman Empire as well as the lessons from the early Church about living life under a hostile regime. With lodging and meals at a Trastevere convent, the Winter School is designed with full-time students and other budget-conscious travelers in mind. Full-time students interested in financial assistance, *Chronicles* readers interested in supporting our scholarship fund, or anyone requiring more information should contact Christopher Check at (815) 964-5811.

Our poet is **Peter Hunt**, a widely published essayist and critic who sits on the editorial board of the *Chesterton Review*. His poetry has appeared in various journals and magazines.

Our cover and interior art are provided by our designer, **Melanie Anderson**. Mrs. Anderson received her B.F.A. from Northern Illinois University.

Additional interior art is provided by **Elizabeth Wolf** of Chicago. Miss Wolf received her B.F.A. from the School of Art at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by Thomas Fleming

The Republic We Betrayed

A republican government is an exercise in human optimism, and patriotic republicans must engage in an unremitting struggle against that human entropy we used to know as Original Sin. Any American citizen today can quote, or at least dimly recall, Washington's declarative challenge in his Farewell Address:

> Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great Pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of Men and citizens.

This rule applies not only to republics, added the retiring president, but "extends with more or less force to every species of free Government."

For Washington, then, a republican government does not reside in constitutional form alone but rests on the virtue of its citizens. Patriotic rhetoric aside, we Americans have never been a particularly virtuous people. Like most peoples, we have got drunk and blasphemed, fornicated and philandered, lied, cheated, and stolen. Puritan New England was notorious for premature births. If, however, we were hardly better than the French, we were no worse, and if we were not distinguished for virtue in the Christian sense, we had more than enough *virtù* in Machiavelli's sense—the courage and toughness to take control over our own lives.

By republican government, I do not mean a nonmonarchical state, though that is the most common sense, since many monarchs have presided over constitutional orders that limited the ruler's power far more effectively than either the American or the Athenian democracy. Differences in political form, as both Machiavellians and Aristotelians understand, are less important than differences in character, and, in its essence, the term *republic* is opposed not to monarchy but to tyranny. Tyrants rule according to the whim of the sovereign or of the class that keeps the sovereign in power, whether that class is a military elite, the Communist Party, or the fickle mob.

A republic, by contrast, is governed by law and custom, and the rulers of a republic may not and cannot violate the constitutional order in a good cause. Although he had fought a revolutionary war to free the American colonies from British rule, Washington was not particularly averse to the English system, and he would have conceded that, despite George III's exercise in personal rule, the British monarchy could generally be called a free, if not a popular, government.

A *republic*, in the wider sense in which I am using the term, is equivalent to Aristotle's *politeia*, a constitutional order based on *nomos*, a word that includes both written laws and inherited traditions. A shorthand way of expressing this is John Adams' Burkean maxim, "A government of laws and not of men," though the word *laws* might lead the unwary to conclude that, since a democratically elected legislature can pass any law it likes, such a legal commonwealth could overturn the social, moral, and political order (as Mr. Blair is doing in Britain), so long as the government continued to win elections.

Both Adams and Burke would have been appalled by such a suggestion. As Burke said early in his career: "Prescription is the most solid of all titles, not only to property, but, which is to secure that property, to government. They harmonize with each other, and give mutual aid to one another." As readers of Russell Kirk will know, *prescription* is a legal term referring to an uninterrupted possession (of property or right) going back to time immemorial; thus, law *and* prescription together form the basis of any constitutional order.

Prescriptive rights do not always find their way into written laws, at least not until they are challenged and require a defense. The founding decades of the American republic—roughly from the Stamp Act crisis of 1765 to the ratification of the Bill of Rights in 1791—represent such a challenge. Americans demanded both the rights they thought they enjoyed as Englishmen and also the rights to which they had become accustomed as American colonists. The government of Britain had not only threatened the existing colonial charters but pushed its authority to censor the press and, by using the legal fiction of general writs, invaded shops, warehouses, and even homes in search of contraband and untaxed goods. Neither the king nor the parliamentary leadership regarded these actions as tyrannical—which, indeed, they were not, since unrest within Britain was repressed by similar measures.

The men of Massachusetts, however, were a troublesome lot, and, ever since the Stamp Act, their leaders (the Boston Patriot Committee) had been fomenting rebellion by forming and drilling militia bands throughout the state. As Americans, they had the habit of defending themselves against the attacks of the French and their Native American surrogates. Unlike their compatriots in England, then, Americans regarded the possession of firearms as a traditional right, and their stockpile of arms at Lexington was only the next step, dictated by logic and necessity, in their plot to defend themselves from the British. The political struggle turned into armed conflict when British forces were sent to seize the arms stockpiled by the militiamen.

The Declaration of Independence lists some of the grievances in its more important, but less read, second part. Some of the most glaring have to do with political administration. The king is accused of not providing justice by his refusal to assent to useful laws and by his general interference in local legislation and courts, which includes the subordination of judges to the governor and the denial of trial by jury; he has similarly interfered in the colonial legislatures and taken away charters—in other words, he has deprived the colonies of their rights to govern themselves, and he has denied the traditional right to petition for redress. He has taxed the colonies without consulting their legislatures, quartered troops upon the citizens, and "made the military independent of and superior to the Civil Power."

This is only a summary, but it gives us the flavor of their concerns, which are basically fourfold: a simple abuse of power (quartering troops); economic interference (taxation and interference in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

international trade); a denial of the legal rights of Englishmen (trial by jury); and the erosion of the rights of the colonies to govern themselves. When the leaders of the rebellion came to form a government, they took for granted that all the basic rights of Englishmen under common law would be preserved, but they did take care to ensure the autonomy of their newly independent states: As Article II of the Preamble of the Articles of Confederation states,

> Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled.

This article precedes the declaration that the states have formed a "firm league of friendship with each other for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare."

After stipulating the limited responsibility of the new government, the signers concluded "that the Articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent, and that the Union shall be perpetual." Note, please, how inviolable observation of the Articles is linked with the perpetuity of the union.

The union was not, after all, perpetual any more than the Articles were inviolably observed. When delegates were sent to Philadelphia in 1787, they were instructed only to amend the Articles as might be necessary, not to draw up a new constitution. Whether they did right or wrong in violating those instructions is now a moot point, but the Articles remain important as a means of interpreting the Constitution. We know the signers at Philadelphia wanted to strengthen the bonds of union, but, since Hamilton ran into such stiff resistance, both at the Convention and afterward, we are not justified in supposing that any phrase in the document gives *carte blanche* for expansion of federal power.

The Tenth (and most vital) Amendment of the Bill of Rights makes this clear by reserving to the states and to the people all powers not specifically enumerated in the Constitution, but the Bill of Rights also addresses other concerns—or, rather, fears—that an ambitious federal government might begin acting like king and Parliament. The Congress was not to interfere in either establishing or hindering religion (by which they could only have meant Christian sects), prevent the press from informing the people about political matters, or restrain the people from assembling or petitioning their government. Nor could the new government quarter troops or deny the people the right to arm themselves and form militia companies for their own defense, either against a hostile enemy or against an abusive government. They also specifically deprived the federal government of the power to interfere in the operation of justice (by denying trial by jury or due process) or to break into shops and homes looking for contraband. Just to make sure they had not left anything out, they threw in the Ninth Amendment, which stipulates that the enumeration of any right is not to be construed as excluding any prescriptive rights they had forgotten to mention. This, in other words, was it, a line in the sand that the federal government could not cross without violating the terms of its creation and existence.

Most Americans with their eyes open understand that, from almost the beginning, the federal government has unconstitutionally expanded its powers. The campaign began, as Jefferson knew it would, with the federal judiciary, but, starting with Lincoln, American presidents labored effectively to convert the constitutional executive into a popular dictator more like Caesar or Cromwell than like George Washington. Nothing daunted, the Congress of the United States has passed millions of pages of legislation illegally and unconstitutionally expanding the powers of all three branches of government at the expense not only of the states but of the people, who have been stripped of their prescriptive rights.

To enumerate even the most grievous instances would require several volumes, but the 14th Amendment—its illegal passage, unconstitutional provisions, and ever-widening application—can serve as the symbolic nutshell to encapsulate the ongoing campaign to turn the Bill of Rights on its head. What had been a barrier to federal encroachment upon the rights of the states and the people is now the justification for the unconstitutional amalgamation of power at the center.

But, as I said at the beginning, many prescriptive rights are taken for granted. No one in the 1780's would have dreamed that marriage was anything but a compact involving a man and a woman or that an unborn child could be killed with impunity or made the subject of scientific research. No one in his right mind supposed that serial rapists and killers deserved any therapy less stringent than a noose. And no one was so wild enough to imagine that the government had the power, much less the right, to determine how children were reared and educated, to confiscate a significant part of our income before we receive it, to grant special rights and privileges to aliens. They did, however, think that one of the primary functions of their government was to secure the common defense by guarding the borders against invasion.

Then what happened? Or rather, who did this to us? Who enslaved a free people and imposed a heavier weight of government upon them than George III or even Louis XIV would have done? The answer is: We did. We elected the criminals and clowns who have treated the American people and their Constitution as if they were Gotham City under the combined attack of all the comic-book villains ever imagined. We not only elected them, but, when they violated the laws and puffed up their power, we returned them to office or, at best, replaced the Joker with Poison Ivy.

Some readers will object to these illustrations from Batman, but, in an age when literacy has gone the way of virtue and religion, it is a futile exercise to quote Aristotle or Shakespeare. The virtue—and the *virtù*—has gone out of us as a people.

The failure of the American republic is not merely a misunderstanding—though bad liberal and leftist ideas have contributed to the problem, and, since this failure is a reflection of our national character, the way back does not lie in a political process that swaps new lies for old or alternates power between the Capone Gang and the Northside Mob. The process of restoration, if it is to take place, lies with each of us. If we begin to live as free people in our own minds and our own lives, if we refuse to be the pawns either of government or of party, if we choose our friends from among the free remnant and, in their company, bring up free children who shun the poisonous propaganda that passes for American history and moral philosophy, we might hope that our American grandchildren—if there still are Americans 30 years from now—will have the virtue to take back the power their ancestors surrendered. ©

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Antipodean Reflections in Canterbury

by Peter Hunt

The jewelled glow of Chartres glass
Unfolding truths that burn afresh
As much as ancient stones stained long
Ago with Becket's blood (his ashes
Scattered after centuries
Of ardent pilgrimage), the vast
Bell-tower that soars so far above
The older, greyer, Norman peak,
The blue and gold mosaic of
Saint Paul shaking the serpent from
His hand, an ancient crypt with stones
That cry with echoes of the voice
That called Augustine far from Rome
To teach and bless the fathers of
Our tongue, the golden ruins of
A rose-draped monastery nearby,
May hardly evoke much more than
Paint luke-warm nostalgia
In minds where sacred sites are football
Fields, and pearls of Christendom
Submerge in images of shares
And bankruptcies, and disco-beats,
And party-power feuds which bring
No scourged king on pilgrimage.
We have our own cathedrals, churches
Carrying the Gospel light
Through stark colonial days and penal
Tyrannies of blood and iron.
For years we had the central symbols
In our blood, amidst the hard-eyed
Anti-Roman fear and cramping
Legalistic dread of Jansen's
Brood, and schools where half of all
That ageless joy was near-denied.
For Becket we had Patrick and
We knew the Polding-Vaughan ideal,
The fire of Therry, and the power
Of Marist-Benedictine images,
The dear compassion of Caroline
And blessed Mary kneeling in
The dust to Christ inscribed
In faces of the poor in country
Huts and city streets, in tender love.
We had the Latin hymns, the red
And gold on Gothic-spired altars
Raised in praise and sacrifice.
Where censers swung (even amid
The Pellegrini statues), and
The long processions with litanies
Intoned along the way. And all
These things had sprung from Faith
In truths that can be stated
Plainly like the Resurrection.
Wow symbols fade with truths reduced
By some to vague, unmeaning gestures
Drawn from shadows void of substance
As faith dissolves in sour carbolic
Puddles, or the ambiguities
Of seminars recorded on
The butcher-paper of a fake
Consensus, fruit of theologic mist.
But Canterbury's testament remains,
And it teaches as we morn.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by Philip Jenkins

The Wrong War

I am nervous about the course I am teaching, this coming fall, about World War II. As I will explain to the class from the outset, there are a few things I do not know about the topic—namely, when the war began, when it ended, where it happened, who were the key protagonists on each side, or indeed who the sides were. Other than that, my knowledge is comprehensive.

Just when did the war begin? Before answering that, we must ask: *Which war?* and *Which nation is remembering it?* Britain and France have one answer; the United States, a totally different one; China and the Ukraine, yet others. Increasingly, though, it is difficult to draw lines between the two world wars, or to see the intervening years as anything more than a temporary cease-fire. Looking globally, a spasm of mass violence was clearly under way by the early or mid-1930's, in China, Spain, Ethiopia, and elsewhere, and, to a greater or lesser extent, these conflicts merged into the giant struggle that attracts the label of World War II.

The question of "which war" becomes still more pressing if we shift our gaze from Western obsessions to consider the Soviet Union. Under Western eyes—especially American—the war was an heroic conflict to stop a ruthlessly homicidal dictatorship from dominating the world and reshaping its future history as a global slave state. For much of Europe, the struggle was rather a contest to see which of two such monstrosities, Nazi or Soviet, would determine the fate of the world, and failing to see it in that light means missing a good deal more than half the story. From this perspective, the era of mass killing really began in the early 1930's, with a series of monumental Stalinist crimes—the slaughter of the Soviet peasantry, the devastation of the Ukraine, and the political purges: assume eight million deaths all told through the decade. "The war" was certainly in progress by 1937, when Hitler and Stalin were sparring in Spain. And it ended—when? Ukrainian resistance against Stalin petered out in the early 1950's; the Lithuanian struggle, some years afterward; and we can see the Hungarian revolt of 1956 as an attempt to reopen that particular front.

Few American retrospectives on the war fail to comment on particular battles—Omaha Beach, Okinawa, Iwo Jima—as "the bloodiest," "the most savage," "the turning point of the war," and so on. Most such claims indicate a mind-boggling lack of proportion, mainly because they fail to understand where the main battles were taking place. Statistics make the point. All European states combined lost around 47 million dead in the war years, as conventionally defined: That figure includes the six million or so Jews murdered by the Nazis. Of the overall total, the Soviet Union alone lost around 29 million, with four more nations—Germany, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Rumania—losing a combined total of 14 million. All other European participants combined lost around four million. Taking Pacific and European theaters together, the United States lost some 420,000 dead, or roughly one American fatality for every 70 Soviets.

It is scarcely surprising that the Russians continue to think that the Soviet Union won the war while the Western Allies held coats, and many American or British veterans would have some sympathy for this view. Just ask any of the "greatest generation" how they would have felt about the D-Day landings if they knew they could expect to encounter an additional 20 or so SS divisions—soldiers who in reality were by then lying dead on the *Ostfront*. If the Soviet Union had fallen, the West could only have defeated Germany by avoiding any ground conflict and biding their time until they could manage to nuke Berlin.

The other vast loser in the war was China, which may have suffered 20 million fatalities fighting Japan. The problem, though, is that this figure includes all deaths from 1931 onward, so most are not counted in conventional statistics of war losses, since they did not happen in the "real" war that began much later, either at Danzig or Pearl Harbor. The Nanking massacre of 1937 was thus not part of "the war." Nor does the Chinese figure include the deaths inflicted by the new communist regime that established itself in 1949 as a direct consequence of the war. Including purges, executions, and man-made famine together, that would account for some 50 million additional deaths by 1960. Again, looking at the century as a whole and on a global scale, "the war" seems to run from around 1930 to 1960, with the early 1940's marking only one horrendous period among several.

None of these comments are intended to minimize the achievements of the Western Allies, of what likely was a "greatest generation." But just how can conventional Western accounts so distort the historical picture? Partly, the dearth of attention paid to Eastern Europe or East Asia reflects Anglo-American parochialism and the sense that what did not affect them directly did not exist. Once "the war" was defined as raging only from 1939/41 through 1945, and mainly in the West, any larger context could be ignored. Also, political factors meant that liberals and radicals were deeply reluctant to see any moral equivalence between Nazis and communists and, thus, to pay due attention to Stalinist atrocities that were quite comparable to those of Hitler. Finally, we, as consumers of news and history, naturally demand a neat and satisfying narrative, in which a villain is destroyed and the war is won, and the thought that we only did this by allying with a villain of equal stature is scarcely acceptable. In the end, who did win in 1945?

For whatever reasons, I believe that conventional U.S. accounts of World War II are studying the wrong war in the wrong time and the wrong place. Wish me luck in my course.

To Subscribe:
(800) 877-5459

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Republicanism, Monarchy, and the Human Scale of Politics

by Donald W. Livingston

The Founding Fathers had to face hard and unprecedented questions about the size and scale of a political order. They occupied a vast region, and conventional wisdom said that such could only be governed by monarchy. They were determined to be republicans, however, and the conventional wisdom was that republics had to be small. The problem, then, was how to be republican in a territory whose size and scale demanded monarchy.

Since size is relative, we must ask, what standard measures the proper size of a republic? The republican tradition grew out of ancient Greek civilization, which was composed of hundreds of small city-states, few of which had populations over 10,000. The point of political order, according to Aristotle, is to achieve human excellence, which is not possible without social corporation and the face-to-face knowledge that only small size can provide. The proper size is that number needed to achieve human flourishing—namely, economic prosperity, internal and external security, justice, and institutions enabling the development of a high culture. Plato put it at around 5,000 citizens. When one adds women, children, servants, slaves, and foreigners, we reach a polity of around 40,000. This was about the size of Athens, which produced such a high level of culture that we still take our bearings from it. As Aristotle said, a great state is not necessarily a large one.

Medieval Europe gave us the parliamentary system, the ideal of the rule of law and limited government, an ethic of individualism, capitalism, and the universities in an order where few cities were over 30,000. Renaissance Florence produced world-class architecture, literature, painting, sculpture, philosophy, science, opera, and modern banking with 40,000. America's Founding Fathers knew no city over 30,000.

The most famous modern theory of a republic is Rousseau's *Social Contract*. So small is Rousseau's republic that he does not even allow representation but requires citizens to show up in person to conduct public business. The republic is modeled on his beloved Geneva, which had a population of around 25,000. Many modern anthropologists and city planners consider a polity of 50-200,000 to be all that is needed to achieve the ends of politics and a high level of human flourishing.

By this standard, republicanism in America might have seemed hopeless. Each American state was far beyond the scale appropriate for a republic. Rousseau and Montesquieu held out the vision of a confederation of small republics, but no American state was such a confederation. Indeed, the boundary of each colony was an artifact of monarchy.

David Hume posed a challenge to the traditional wisdom. In "Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth" (1752), he argued that a republic need not be small. If divided into what he called "county republics," with constitutional checks that preserved local self-rule, a large republic was not only possible but would be the best of all polities, as it would embody what was true in the classical republican tradition while providing the advantages of large scale in respect to defense and commerce.

Both Hamilton and Madison were heavily influenced by this essay, which is reflected in their arguments to persuade Americans to ratify the proposed constitution. The Antifederalists had objected that the U.S. Constitution would create a central authority ruling over a territory so vast that it would quickly degenerate into an empire under monarchy. It was just this argument that Richard Lee had successfully used to persuade Virginians to cede the vast northwestern territory it had conquered from Britain to the Confederation. Lee said Virginia could not both control such territory and remain a republic. But in mapping Hume's large republic onto the vast union of states proposed at the Philadelphia Convention—as a reply to the Antifederalists—Hamilton and Madison made an erroneous judgment in scale.

Hume derived inspiration for the large republic from the United Provinces of the Netherlands. A federative order of this kind, he thought, could be mapped onto a country the size of Britain or France without a loss of republican scale. By this standard, *each* American state was a large Humean republic, but a union of 13 such states was not itself a Humean republic. We learn nothing from Hume, Rousseau, Montesquieu, or any other modern writer as to how such a vast political configuration as the American union could work, much less whether it could intelligibly be called a *republic*, as Hamilton and Madison described it. So Americans were on their own to conjure with a republican political ideal that was entirely out of scale with the size of the territory to be governed. Our political history is largely the story of attempts to resolve this conundrum.

Cicero defined a republic as an association of men under law. By "law," he did not mean *legislation—i.e.*, something made by men. Law was something men were born into, and the "association" was largely voluntary. There was no state machinery with a monopoly on coercion to tax and regulate the behavior of men. In an emergency, citizens would gather and tax themselves, but the presumption was that foreigners, not citizens, paid taxes.

When Americans spoke of monarchy, they did not mean merely an hereditary executive; they meant "absolute monarchy," a system Hume thought to be no older than the mid-17th century. Medieval Europe was composed of thousands of independent and quasi-independent polities: principalities, dukedoms, baronies, margravates, kingdoms, republics, free cities, and leagues of free cities. Woven throughout these were two universal institutions: the papacy and the Holy Roman Empire. From the 12th century on, kings began conquering

Contributing editor Donald W. Livingston is professor of philosophy at Emory University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and consolidating this mosaic of independent polities into larger and larger kingdoms. To govern and exploit such vast holdings, the king created a coercive administrative system, which was later called the state. Philosophers such as Jean Bodin and Thomas Hobbes endowed the state with the attributes of sovereignty traditionally associated with God: absolute power, judicial infallibility, and indivisibility. Hobbes described the state as "an artificial man." Such an arrangement is not a republic in Cicero's understanding (an association of men under law) because, in it, men are politically associated not with one another but with an artificial corporation. And, having absolute sovereignty, the corporation is not under law but *makes* law.

Europeans were familiar with this in the doctrine of the two bodies of the king expressed at the death of a monarch: "The king is dead, long live the king!" The second body of the king was the artificial corporation with a territorial monopoly on coercion that the kings had created to exploit their extensive holdings. Hobbes, however, did not view the state as what it actually was—namely, a peculiar form of government that had emerged out of the contingencies of European politics, to be distinguished from other forms of government, such as republicanism—but as the timeless form of government as such.

Viewing the state as it actually is (the second body of the king) introduces a radical ambiguity into early American talk about abolishing monarchy. It would not be enough to kill Charles I, Louis XVI, and Czar Nicholas II and abolish their hereditary line. That would merely be to kill the first body of the king. To abolish monarchy, one must also kill the second body. But that body, unlike the first, is a bloodless, artificial corporation with a territorial monopoly on coercion. And no modern revolution has ever destroyed it. Not only have all modern revolutions carried out in the name of republicanism—the American, French, Russian, Chinese, *etc.*—failed to abolish the second body of the king; they have merely renamed it and expanded its coercive powers beyond anything an 18th-century monarch could have imagined.

In this sense, all large modern "republics" are really 18th-century absolute monarchies without the monarch, having all the disadvantages of monarchy and none of its advantages. The disadvantages come from the disposition of the second body of the king to expand power over society. The advantages are the inability of monarchs to regulate society and exploit its resources to the extent that modern "republics" can. The reason for this limitation is that the privileges possessed by the first body of the king prompt jealousies and resentments among competing proprietors (Church, nobility, free cities, commons) whose titles are rooted in the same traditions as the king and which have the corporate resources to resist. Flesh-and-blood kings were limited in the power they could exercise in a way that the bureaucrats, managers, and CEO's of modern "republican" states, who have only a limited term for exploitation, are not. Monarchies could extract only around five to eight percent of GNP from society; modern "republics," on the other hand, have been able to extract as much as 60 percent. As bad as they were, no 18th-century monarch could have imposed an income tax, or ordered universal conscription, or taken children from their parents to be indoctrinated in state schools.

As Tocqueville saw, the much-vaunted triumph of republicanism over monarchy in Europe was, at bottom, a mass illusion. Republicanism in Europe would mean little more than the doctrine that the people are sovereign and can discipline their managers through periodic elections. Though not to be despised, these are superficial features of the older republican tradition, in which an artificial corporation having a territorial monopoly on coercion has no place. Given the great size of modern republics (a legacy of monarchy), the people are sovereign in roughly the way that the queen of England is sovereign. The queen's voice is given through ceremony, just as the people's voice is given through the ritual of elections. The real sovereign, however, is the state and its temporary managers. In the end, the second body of the king would conquer America, as it had conquered the emerging "republics" of Europe. But it would take longer, and, in the process, some instructive attempts at resistance would emerge.

POPULATION.

PROVINCE	POPULATION	HOUSING UNITS	AREA IN Sq. MILES	POP. PER Sq. MILE	HOUSING UNITS PER Sq. MILE
United States	281421906	115904641	3794083.06	79.6	32.8
Alabama	4447100	1963711	52419.02	87.6	38.7
Alaska	626932	260978	663267.26	1.1	0.5
Arizona	5130632	2189189	113998.3	45.2	19.
Arkansas	2673400	1173043	53178.62	51.3	22
California	33871648	12214549	163695.57	217.2	7
		1808037	104093.57	41.5	202.9

Melanie Anderson

Republicanism in America was more a fact than a theory. The wilderness had been cleared and a civilization built by small Protestant communities that were self-governing in roughly the way ancient republics were. But the colonial boundaries within which this republican style of life flourished were the creation of the crown. Theoretically, the colonists were subjects of the king; practically, they were living out a republican way of life in hundreds of self-governing polities of human scale. When the crown became too intrusive, the people resisted and eventually seceded to live out a republican form of life free of monarchy. The effort was not entirely successful, however, for the second body of the king survived in the form of new state corporations, each exercising a monopoly on coercion within the former colonial boundaries that had been imposed by the crown for its own purposes.

Two problems presented themselves. One was whether republicanism could survive *within* each state, and the other was whether the republican idiom was even intelligible when applied to the unprecedented configuration of a vast union of would-be republican states. Since the essence of republicanism is the human-scale polity of 50-200,000, no modern state can be called "republican" unless its constitutional rules are rigged to allow the formation, within the larger polity, of such small self-governing polities, free to pursue a uniquely valuable way of life. Some powers will have to be given up to the larger unit; but they should be few, abstract, and with minimum moral content, such as defense and the regulation of commerce.

The fewer the substantial moral intrusions from the cen-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tral authority, the more "republican" the large regime. The greater the intrusions, the more monarchical it is. It was this way of thinking that prompted Antifederalist fears about "consolidation" and the Jeffersonian critiques that their opponents were trying to restore "monarchy." Further, if a regime became too large for human-scale republicanism, it should be divided. Indeed, the republican presumption—sublimated in large-scale republics—is just the historic memory of the Greek model of hundreds of small, self-governing states. Any act centralizing power must be justified in the light of that presumption. In modern monarchies, where sovereignty is said to be indivisible, the presumption is just the opposite; it is division that must be justified. Consequently, republicanism, cast on a large scale, must allow some form of corporate veto to its republican units—and, as a last resort, secession.

The Louisiana Purchase was the first serious threat to American republicanism. It is significant that the Constitution made no provision for acquiring new territory. Perhaps the Framers instinctively knew that the Union was already too large and had stretched the republican idiom to the breaking point. Hume, who had argued for a large republic the size of Britain or France, insisted that its constitution "establish a fundamental law against conquests" (presumably, also, against expansion by purchase). "Yet republics," he said, "have ambition, as well as individuals, and present interest makes men forgetful of their posterity." The Constitution does, however, allow for the formation of new states out of old states. New states were to be formed by secession, not expansion. Kentucky seceded from Virginia; Tennessee, from North Carolina; Maine, from Massachusetts. Had the territory of the Union remained that of the 13 states, and had the republican ethic remained strong, this process of secession might have continued down to the point of perhaps hundreds of small states, united for certain general purposes but each pursuing a valuable way of life of its own. Or, if new and deep conflicts of interest emerged, the Union itself could have been divided into two or more unions of such small republics.

This republican presumption in the direction of small scale was severely strained by the Louisiana Purchase, which more than doubled the Union. This vast territory brought to life the monarchical disposition dormant in the central government. Jefferson thought that neither he nor Congress had the constitutional authority to expand the Union through purchase. New Englanders accused Jefferson of monarchy and of trying to create a Southern empire. The American republican remedy to empire had been, and still was, secession. Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts, in a speech before the House of Representatives, threatened secession if Louisiana were incorporated as a state without a constitutional amendment: "It is my deliberate opinion that it is virtually a dissolution of this Union; that it will free the States from their moral obligation; and, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, definitely to prepare for a separation—amicably if they can, violently if they must." The speaker ruled Quincy's language out of order, but the House took a vote and ruled that it was in order. Writing to William Crawford in 1816 after 13 years of secessionist agitation in New England, Jefferson said: "If any state in the Union will declare it prefers separation . . . to a continuance in Union . . . I have no hesitation in saying, 'let us separate.'"

Though Jefferson might have lapsed into monarchy in acquiring the Louisiana territory, his vision of settling it was republican. He imagined a Mississippi Confederacy alongside the old Atlantic Confederacy. He thought John Astor's settlements in the Northwest might issue in "a great, free and independent empire on that side of our continent." These would be "Free and independent Americans, *unconnected with us* but by ties of blood and interest, and employing like us the rights of self-government" (emphasis mine). In a speech before the Senate in 1825, Thomas Hart Benton gave expression to this Jeffersonian vision of a number of unions on the continent. "In planting the seed of a new power on the coast of the Pacific ocean," he said, "it should be well understood that when strong enough to take care of itself, the new Government should separate from the mother Empire as the child separates from the parent at the age of manhood." An independent federation on the Pacific was still a real possibility as late as the 1850's.

But the temptation to govern the western territories from the center proved irresistible. Congress soon discovered its "sovereignty" and began governing the territories as the crown had governed the colonies. The introduction of new states from these territories—all with a constitutionally guaranteed "republican form of government"—was only a superficial triumph for republicanism, because Congress viewed them as creations of its own sovereign will.

Lincoln would come to think of American states as counties in a vast unitary American state. Following Joseph Story and Daniel Webster, he claimed that, when the colonies seceded from Britain, the sovereignty of the crown became vested in the American people in the aggregate. This aggregate sovereignty spoke through the Continental Congress, which authorized the formation of states out of the ex-colonies. This enabled Lincoln to make the historically absurd claim that "the Union is older than any of the States, and, in fact, it created them as States." As in the French Revolution, the person of the king became the nation-person. And, as the state became the king's second body, so the central government of the United States became the second body of the American people in the aggregate. As the second artificial body, in each case, expanded its power, however, the sovereignty of the flesh-and-blood king or people would become progressively ceremonial.

When 11 Southern states seceded to form a union of their own, they were acting in accord with the republican disposition to divide in the direction of a more human scale. It is significant that the Confederate Constitution allowed any three states to *propose and force a vote* on a constitutional amendment and required only a two-thirds vote of the states for ratification. It also allowed for non-slaveholding states. And a Confederate state could secede. The arguments the Union used to suppress brutally this thoughtful attempt to reconfigure a *modus vivendi* for republican government in a large territory were the same as those used by the crown to suppress the secession of the colonies. The sovereignty of the Union, like that of the crown, was said to be irresistible, infallible, and indivisible. This 17th-century notion of sovereignty, stolen from the divine attributes of God and applied to the king's second body—now transformed into the nation-person—is reaffirmed every time we say, in the Pledge of Allegiance, "one nation, . . . indivisible." The political force that established this suppression of Jeffersonian republicanism in 1861 was, and still is, perversely enough, called the Republican Party. ◦c

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Powers, Principalities, Spiritual Forces

Charging Toward the *Dies Irae*

by Harold O.J. Brown

----------X
EVIL,)
Plaintiff,)
-against-)
AMERICAN SOCIETY,)
Defendant.)
----------X

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATE

Decided June 23, 2005

Supreme Court upheld all of the proposed takings of land from petitioners, owners who refused to sell to accomodate a development plan designed to revitalize the city's ailing economy.

Melanie Anderson

In Ephesians 6, the Apostle Paul writes, "We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places" (6:12). Political scientist and lay theologian Jacques Ellul went beyond the usual interpretation of these "spiritual forces" as demons to see in them a kind of aeonic spiritual structure. They are not personal in the sense of evil demons, but they take on a kind of personal power in molding and, in some cases, deconstructing the society around them. There was a demonic spiritual force in Nazism, strongly influenced by a frenzy of antisemitism. It forced the Nazi leadership totally to disregard and reject all of the contributions made by Jews to Germany and European culture. The power of this frenzy over the Germans—and, to some extent, over other Europeans as well—was so great that, in large measure, they tolerated, and often actively supported, Hitler's morally, theologically, biologically, and strategically insane persecutions of the Jews and other *Untermenschen*.

It is hard for us today to understand how this happened in a population that was one of the most educated and highly developed groups in the world. It is not enough to blame the Germans as a race or cultural group, as Daniel Goldhagen did in *Hitler's Willing Executioners*. The demonic possession of Nazi antisemitism that murdered millions and led Germany into virtual self-annihilation is dead. Isolated incidents of antisemitism still occur, but they are like the shudders of a mortally wounded body; they do not mean that it will rise again to life. The Nazi demon is gone and probably never will return. It is no longer rhetorically effective to attribute its savage effects to "the Germans," as Germany in her present condition looks like the most successful representative of pan-European multiculturalism. Unfortunately, remembering it and memorializing it, as we are repeatedly asked to do with holocaust museums and courses in schools and colleges, can blind us to the phenomenon that caused it, this "spiritual power of wickedness in high places."

In the half-century or so since the end of World War II, American society has been suffering decomposition and deconstruction. How can it be that the nation's body politic has looked on with supine discontent as, by a series of judicial actions, its foundations have been destroyed? Is there a collective blindness? And, if so, where does it come from? Are we, too, under the influence of "spiritual wickedness in high places"? The "power" that infects us does not work as quickly as the demonic force behind Nazism, but it is surely working.

Consider what we have come to in seven decades. The distinctiveness of marriage has been abolished (*Baird* v. *Eisenstadt*); prayer and Bible-reading in schools has been stamped out (*Abington, Schemp, et al.*); the mother's womb has been made the most dangerous place for a baby (*Roe* v. *Wade, et al.*); the rights (but not the duties) of fathers and parents of minor girls have been voided (*Planned Parenthood* v. *Danforth*); divorce has become easier than marrying; the Ten Commandments have been banned from public view; and now the natural distinction between male and female is being abolished (*Goodridge, Lawrence, etc.*) The Pledge of Allegiance is forbidden; the Boy Scouts are under attack; and Christmas carols are banned. Pornography is everywhere.

The structure of American society is being demolished brick by brick. Within a few short years, Americans will have reached the "liberty" desired by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the abolition of every particular dependency. This is what Hannah Arendt called "the atomistic mass," a precondition for the establishment of totalitarianism. But the American body

---

Religion editor Harold O.J. Brown is a professor of theology and philosophy at Reformed Theological Seminary in Charlotte, North Carolina.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

politic remains supine, like a fat sow, occasionally twitching or flicking her tail at the pricks of the insects but doing nothing to evade the approach of the butcher.

How can the American people remain ignorant of, or indifferent to, this decomposition? How can we fail to notice that what was once a federal republic, then more or less a mass democracy, has become a critocracy, a land where judges rule? When the judges ruled, there was no king in Israel, and "every man did that which was right in his own eyes" (Judges 21:25). There is no king in the United States; there never has been. But we did not need a king when there were the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God, and when the majority of our people believed that the Creator of Nature has spoken to us in the Bible. There is no longer any God, for judges rule, and we may do only that which is right in their eyes.

The Nazi Party was not a demon—or, if so, only in a metaphorical sense. It was the work of human hands. Yet there must have been some kind of a "spiritual force of wickedness" at work, making the Germans blind to what they were doing to others and to themselves. In a way, it might be comforting to think that the Germans are a peculiar people addicted to such behavior, and that we Americans are immune to it. Germans planned and executed the holocaust, but two other nations, the Soviet Union and Communist China, murdered more in absolute numbers. The 60th anniversary of the Allied bombing of Dresden and of the American firebombing of Tokyo has just passed, and that of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is coming. Dresden was not Auschwitz, but the glib self-assurance with which British and American military and political leaders justified the deliberate extermination of civilians rings hollow in the light of Christian just-war doctrine.

In *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Study in the Banality of Evil*, Hannah Arendt argues that most of the work of extermination was carried out not by willing executioners, as Daniel Goldhagen would have it, but by unimaginative bureaucrats (of which every modern nation has plenty). Is there not a similar demon, at least a metaphorical one, at work in America, blinding us to what we are doing to others and ourselves? The republic that we thought that we were, the democracy that we thought we had—both are gone, and we have hardly noticed their passing. We once thought of ourselves as a republic—or, rather, as a freely chosen union of sovereign states. The Southern notion that this union could be abandoned by individual, sovereign states—as some in New England had thought during the War of 1812—was crushed by overwhelming military force in the War Between the States. This war is incorrectly called the Civil War, because it was not the goal of the secessionists to control the Union but merely to regain their freedom. The South had no intention of ruling the others. The *volonté générale*, the general will, became the will of one in the French Revolution. In the United States, the slogan *Vox populi, vox Dei* (The voice of the people is the voice of God), always troubling, has become irrelevant, for neither the *vox populi* nor the Word of God counts when our judges speak. When the people have no God, then the voice of those who actually rule becomes the voice of demons, of "spiritual wickedness in high places."

The people of the United States never chose to be ruled by judges, to replace democracy with critocracy, but that is where we are. For rulers, we have judges. They are no longer chosen, as they once were, by the standard that Moses' father-in-law Jethro recommended—"able men, who fear god, men of truth, who hate dishonest gain" (Exodus 18:21). "Put not thy trust in princes," the Psalmist warned (146:3). For our princes, we have taken judges. Many are just, and some fear God. But put a small number of unjust judges in critical places, and critocracy can deconstruct society.

In his Second Inaugural Address and in his campaign, President George W. Bush promised to seek out good judges. It will take more than one or two better judges to rebuild the structures that evil decisions have broken down. This is a reality that challenges our fictional democracy. This evil cannot easily be remedied. Can it be broken? It must be, if we are not to sink languidly into a slough of evil like that into which the Germans plunged in such a frenzy. To break the critocracy, the evil must be recognized. The possibility that it can be recognized is the basis of our hope that America will recover. On the last page of *The Crisis of Our Age* (1941), Pitirim Sorokin prayed for the grace of understanding, to enable us to make the right decisions to avoid a fiery *dies irae*. The grace of understanding is one thing that our ruler judges surely do not want, but fortunately, for the nation and for us, the One Who can impart it is not subject to their jurisdiction. C

London to Edinburgh—A Train Journey

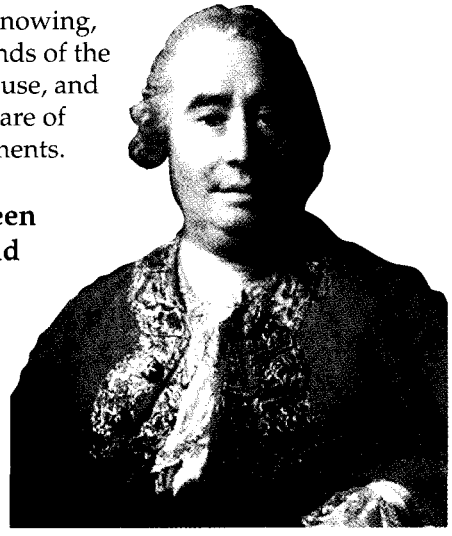
by Peter Hunt

Images of faint gold light
On sodden fields, hedges tinged
With red, sea-mist over pearl-soft
Waters, the soaring steeples shining,
Their reflections trembling
In sad industrial villages
And towns, a sign of ascending
Spirit over "dark Satanic mills":
Such magic—on a silver Winter's day
Evoke from scenes so mixed, though briefly
Glimpsed, in wavering patterns flashing by.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Walter Scott *Versus* the Scottish Enlightenment

In many conservative circles, Adam Smith's work is treated like Scripture, on moral as well as on economic questions. Knowing, however, that degenerates like Voltaire looked to the minds of the Scottish Enlightenment for inspiration should give us pause, and one great Scotsman, Sir Walter Scott, had more than his share of doubts about both the French and the Scottish Enlightenments.



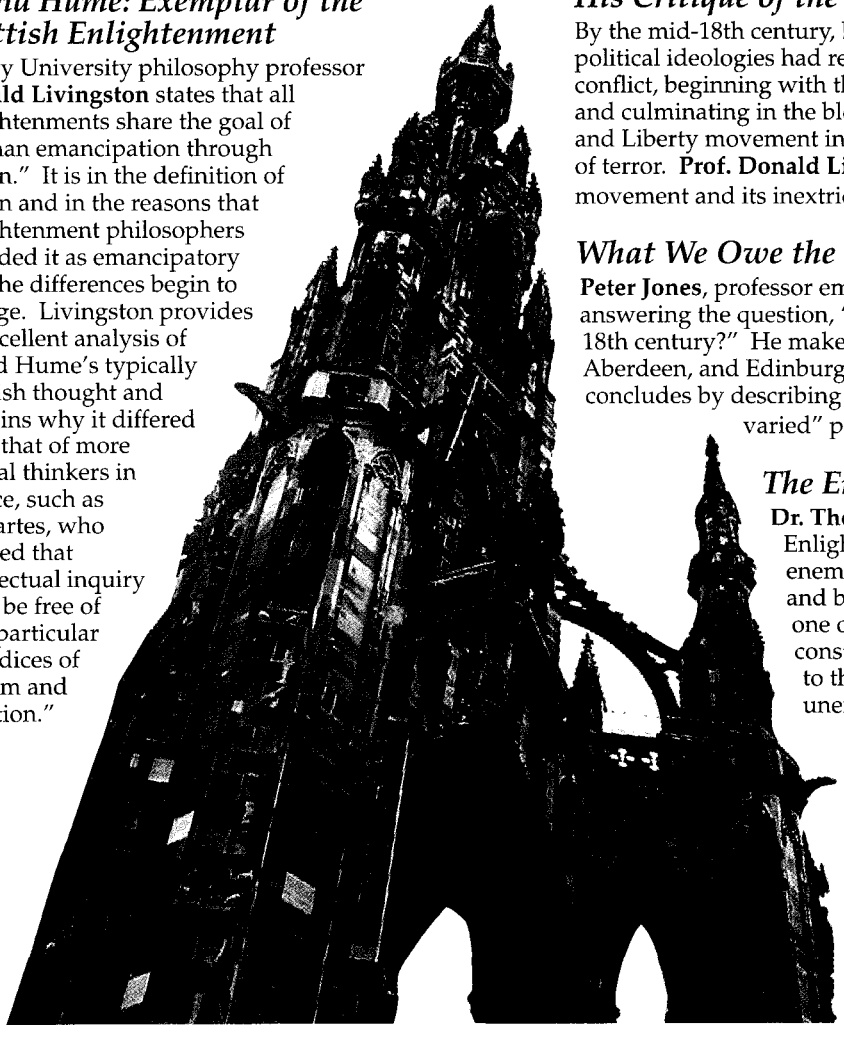
Six one-hour lectures treating the tension between the romantic medievalism of Sir Walter Scott and the progressive rationalism of the Scottish Enlightenment.

Walter Scott's Scotland

Dr. Thomas Fleming argues that the Enlightenment was an age of abstractions when social, moral, and political discussions turned on principles that were universal, rational, and objective. The Romantic reaction to the Enlightenment emphasized particulars such as religion, nationality, and tradition. Walter Scott, the greatest of the Romantics, gives us not only a healthy reaction to the cynical and over-intellectualized view of life of the Enlightenment propagandists but beautiful stories and characters rivaled in English literature only by Shakespeare's.

David Hume: Exemplar of the Scottish Enlightenment

Emory University philosophy professor **Donald Livingston** states that all Enlightenments share the goal of "human emancipation through reason." It is in the definition of reason and in the reasons that Enlightenment philosophers regarded it as emancipatory that the differences begin to emerge. Livingston provides an excellent analysis of David Hume's typically Scottish thought and explains why it differed from that of more radical thinkers in France, such as Descartes, who insisted that intellectual inquiry must be free of the "particular prejudices of custom and tradition."



The Scottish Moral Sentiment Theorists' Critique of the Scottish Enlightenment

Prof. Marie Livingston considers the work of moral sentiment theorists David Hume, Adam Smith, and Francis Hutcheson and compares and contrast their ideas with more progressive and reactionary Enlightenment thinkers. She gives particular attention to the work of Hutcheson, "an enormous influence on David Hume," and his extraordinary talent for philosophical criticism.

Hume's Support of American Secession and His Critique of the English Enlightenment

By the mid-18th century, David Hume had come to see that purely secular political ideologies had replaced religion as the main source of social conflict, beginning with the Puritan Revolution of the English Civil War and culminating in the bloodbath of the French Revolution. The Wilkes and Liberty movement in England, however, did not turn out to be a reign of terror. **Prof. Donald Livingston** explores Hume's view of this political movement and its inextricable association with the American Revolution.

What We Owe the Scottish Enlightenment

Peter Jones, professor emeritus at the University of Edinburgh, begins by answering the question, "What captures the core of Scottish thinking in the 18th century?" He makes the case that the "moral philosophers in Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh did affect the course of American history" and concludes by describing the modern world's debts to the "vibrant and varied" period known as the Scottish Enlightenment.

The Enlightenment's Mistake

Dr. Thomas Fleming describes his relationship to the Enlightenment as that of a World War II spy sent behind enemy lines, admitting that his knowledge is "partial and biased." Abandoning objectivity, which he calls one of the Enlightenment's "false moral principles," he constructs an anti-Enlightenment myth in opposition to the myths of the Enlightenment that so often go unexamined in American conservative circles.

Special introductory price
(includes shipping and handling):

Audiotapes $45.00
CD's $50.00

To order, please call Cindy Link at (800) 383-0680.
Mention code R05CVEDIS for tapes or
code R05CVEDISCD for CD's.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Please Tread on Me

by Clyde Wilson

"Sic Semper Tyrannis."

—from the Great Seal of the Commonwealth of Virginia

"I want everybody to hear loud and clear that I'm going to be the president of everybody."
—George W. Bush

"I hope we get to the bottom of the answer. It's what I'm interested to know."
—George W. Bush

A bit of folklore, often retailed, reports a remark made by the sage Ben Franklin at the conclusion of the Philadelphia convention that drafted the U.S. Constitution. Franklin is supposed to have said: "Well, gentlemen, you have made a Republic—if you can keep it."

The story is hokey. Except for one point, everything about it is designed to give a false impression. The delegates had not "made a Republic." There already existed 13 republics recently created by the political genius and physical and moral courage of various communities of Anglo-Americans.

What the convention had "made" was a draft proposal to make "more perfect" collaboration among the 13 republics and any future republics to be created by their kinsmen and descendants in nearly empty lands to the west. The proposal could be accepted—or not—by the sovereign people of each republic according to their judgment as to its suitability for preserving "the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

The Franklin folklore was fabricated in the 19th century to infect the public mind with new implicit assumptions about the origin and nature of American government. This was part of a deliberate drive by the Massachusetts elite to create an "American" consciousness compatible with their ideas, interests, and will to power. The existence of this drive and its primary responsibility for many developments in American history up to the present moment can be empirically demonstrated by abundant evidence.

To postulate that the men of Philadelphia had "made a Republic" is to make American self-government and liberty seem a treasure miraculously created and handed down by a body of saints. The Constitution becomes Holy Writ, an object for awe rather than a human contrivance made flesh by the consent of the people who, it was once thought, knew what they intended it to mean. The Constitution, while untouchable by the profane hands of the people, is, at the same time, rendered mysterious and, thus, vague and malleable. The "consent of the governed" becomes a one-time thing, like being "born again." Consent means eternal obedience to the masters of the government the Constitution created rather than the ongoing, revokable agreement of a living community to its government, as envisioned in the Declaration of Independence.

The true part of Franklin's supposed statement is the "if you can keep it" part. All present would have agreed that republics—governments of the many—are hard to have and even harder to keep. All the experience and knowledge of the human race indicated that to be so.

The only real surety for good government was in the virtue of the ruler, whether power rested with the one, the few, or (especially) the many. The requirements of republican virtue were widely understood. They were exactly what the Founding Fathers meant by patriotism: admirable behavior in the public good, not the worship of rulers that many Americans now confuse with patriotism. The virtue required of republican citizens did not involve going to Sunday school or even helping your neighbors. It involved qualities of character necessary to preserve a republican government from an inexhaustible supply of usurpers and other dangers.

A virtuous citizen was discerning in the public business, able to detect the guile that lurked behind pleasing and plausible rhetoric. The ambitious and self-seeking at all times seek to aggrandize themselves through the state at the expense of the decent majority content to go about their private business. Frankness and skepticism and an alert suspicion of power were preferred in a republican citizen, as well as the ability and the courage to see and do what was in the long-term interest of the commonwealth, even when it seemed inexpedient or too demanding in the short term. Highest of all republican virtues was the willingness to risk life and property to defend liberty. The liberty to be defended indivisibly combined the freedom of the citizen and the self-government of the community—it was the freedom of the citizen *in* the free community. The free community was pre-governmental. It was society, a creation of Providence, not a creation of men like a particular state apparatus. A republican polity consisted of responsible heads of households, who, in order to keep their liberty, individual and communal, must be watchful, public-spirited, and always ready to resist enemies, foreign and domestic. "We

---

Clyde Wilson's most recent book is From Union to Empire: Essays in the Jeffersonian Tradition.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dare defend our rights!" was once an American watchword, as was "*Sic semper tyrannis*!"

On August 22, 1992, at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, an American woman, standing in the doorway of her home and holding her baby, was murdered at long range by a foreign mercenary sent by the U.S. government—part of a 400-man militarized "law enforcement" group attacking the lonely Weaver homestead on the pretense of serving a trumped-up warrant.

How should a people of republican virtue react to this vile, illegal, unjust, and grossly tyrannical act of government? No government officials have been held accountable except in mild or ineffective ways. While many people have futilely disapproved, it would appear that not only the government and media but a majority of the American people tacitly approve the action of the government or at least are not offended or alarmed. (A multitude of other acts of tyranny, not necessarily so lethal, could be pointed to.)

Must we conclude that the American majority is no longer able to identify acts of government tyranny, much less respond to them, and is therefore empty of republican virtue? What did control its response? Was it a vague subjective feeling unrelated to the law or the facts—that the Weavers were bad people, antigovernment rednecks whom nice Americans find alien, disagreeable, and threatening? A feeling that government agents are "ours" and, therefore, are good and incapable of wrongdoing?

It is a long way from "We dare defend our rights!" to Ruby Ridge.

It would take the lifetime of a good historian to lay out in full how we got from there to here. We can, however, describe some of the main turnings on the road.

The triumph of Lincoln and the Republican Party in 1865 and its aftermath had at least three results worth emphasizing in this context. First, the people no longer had any means of constitutional action to resist whatever faction might be in control of the federal machinery. The states, described by Jefferson as "the best bulwark of our liberties" and previously considered to be the seats of the multiple sovereignties of the people, had been violently castrated. They could still oppress their own citizens, but they could no longer provide any resistance to the oppressions and usurpations of those at the controls of the federal juggernaut.

Second, institutionalizing a trend that had been evident from the beginning, the federal government became primarily an organization for the transfer of wealth. Ever since, our government has been a plutocracy where "democratic" choices are limited to safe alternatives pre-approved by those who control the money supply and other great aggregations of capital and who prefer to have government acquiescence and assistance in their activities. For a long time, the material, intellectual, and character resources of the American people created such prosperity, and so large a part of business and life was outside the sphere of government control, that it did not seem to matter very much. However, when a government becomes an engine for dispensing benefits, the *public good* disappears from sight. There is no reason why the feds should not tax the whole Union to support Cleveland's Rock 'n' Roll Museum or the senator from Hawaii's wish to subsidize a Hebrew school in France. And "lawmakers" whose primary business is distributing bounties inevitably lack a republican long-term perspective. The debt that is to be left to future generations is of no immediate consequence and does not enter into their calculations.

Third, the power of Lincoln's pretty phrases diverted the public discourse from a realistic debate on the public business into homiletical verbiage that hides more than it reveals—*e.g.*, "war to make the world safe for democracy." The outer limit of this poisonous mode has been reached by George W. Bush, whose discourse is full of attractive labels and devoid of content. (He evidently learned to read—assuming he did—by the look-say method.) Nothing he says bears any relation to the Constitution, to the will of the people, or to the real world outside of his self-referential universe.

re•pub•lic [ri'pəblik] NOUN

1. a state in which supreme power is held ~~by the~~ over ~~e~~ the people ~~and their elected representatives,~~ by a self-seeking politicians and which has an elected or nominated president ~~rather than a~~ who serves his own interest ~~monarch.~~ 2. a community or group with a certain ~~equality between~~ weakness among its members.

ORIGIN late 16th cent.: from French ***république***, from Latin ***respublica***, from ***res 'concern' + publicus 'of the people, public.'***

Melanie Anderson

Another turn in the road we can see was made in the "Progressive Era" of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. There was superimposed upon the American polity a regime in which "democracy" was no longer the will of the majority. It was, instead, a future goal in the reaching of which "experts" were to give the people what was good for them. The people were not to be consulted and often not even to be informed of why certain things were being done to them.

The regime of Plutocratic-Progressivism (the two things are inseparable), acting frequently through the great foundations and unaccountable to the people, writes the decrees that govern vast areas of "public policy." Its two greatest triumphs are, first, Deweyite compulsory schooling, which spectacularly succeeded in depriving much of the population of real literacy, substantive knowledge, and capacity for reasoning. (George W. Bush has said: "Sometimes when you study history, you get stuck in the past." "You teach a child to read, and he or her will be able to pass a literacy test.")

Its second triumph has been to produce a century of warfare, still going on with a vengeance, using the blood and treasure of Americans to impose Plutocratic-Progressivism on the world. It is impossible to find any exercise of power more foreign to the letter and spirit of the Constitution to which the governed once consented.

A cultural historian can discern that the driving force in both the Lincolnian and the Progressive revolutions, and the main beneficiary of them, was a self-appointed elite spreading out from "the City Upon a Hill." John Taylor Gatto, in *The Underground History of American Education*, describes it well: "It looks to me as if the energy to run this train was released in America from the stricken body of New England Calvinism when its theocracy collapsed from indifference, ambition, and the hostility of its own children." In pursuit of an ideal future

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the human race, the righteous "change agents" of New England approached other Americans as lab rats to be experimented on. Both the Lincolnian and Progressivist revolutions were strongly reinforced by the immigrants and educational gurus of Northern Germany, who believed that governments created people, not the other away around.

To postulate that the men of Philadelphia had "made a Republic" is to make American self-government and liberty seem a treasure miraculously created and handed down by a body of saints. The Constitution becomes Holy Writ, an object for awe rather than a human contrivance.

Much of the political behavior of Americans looks more like Germanic state worship than Anglo-Celtic individualism. Neither the devolved Puritans nor the German statists ever had any self-doubts or gave any notice to the wills and value of others.

We have also reached the extreme limit of "guardian democracy." The U.S. government no longer protects American society. It is now in the business of democide—destroying the potential life and well-being of your descendants and mine. Ask the citizens of Columbus, Ohio, who recently had 60,000 Somali Bantu settled among them by the U.S. government, with free houses. Our massive invasion of immigrants could not possibility exist in a regime serving the long-term interests of its people. Republican government has ceased to exist when ladies whose families have been here since the 1600's must be body-searched at the terminal gate to avoid offense to suspicious-looking, ungrateful foreigners. The rulers no longer see any difference between citizens and foreigners. And none dare defend their rights.

The industrial, transportation, and communication revolutions and the disappearance of an agrarian base inevitably altered the Founding Fathers' vision of the character of a free people, as did the conquest of the electoral process by a two-party system representing little except politicians' lust for power and plunder. To understand fully what has happened to us would take us deep into cultural history. How did a mass culture of triviality, superficiality, celebrity, and the reduction of leadership in the commonwealth to the puerile *Me*-ism of the President-of-Everybody come to dominate so much of our public (and private) life? Does television corrupt American culture, or does American culture corrupt television?

How our republican virtue got broken can be explained in many ways. How it can be fixed is another question. c

The Rockford Institute

presents

The History and Literature of the Ancient World

Last year's TRI Academy course has been revised and expanded. "History and Literature of the Ancient World," taught by Dr. Thomas Fleming, is now complete and available in a format conducive to home education. Dr. Fleming holds a Ph.D. in classics from the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and is regarded as a leading authority on ancient Greek lyric poetry.

Dr. Fleming provides a survey of Egypt and Mesopotamia before embarking on an in-depth examination of the history and literature of Greece and Rome. Readings include works of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenephon, Plutarch, Livy, and Tacitus, among others. The civilization of Europe and the United States is a legacy of ancient Greece and Rome, and the study of the history and literature of these great civilizations is the foundation of any serious education.

Students will receive a set of 36 lectures (audiotape or CD) and an accompanying study guide. Sign up now.

Audiotapes: $225.00 per semester; $400.00 per year
CD's: $250.00 per semester; $425.00 per year

Present course owners may purchase an upgrade (the 6 new/revised lectures and a revised study guide) for only $20.00.

For more information or to sign up, please call Jan Kooistra at (815) 964-5811;
or email *jkooistra@rockfordinstitute.org.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Republican Party's Welfare Queens

May a Thousand Enrons Bloom

by Doug Bandow

Republicans routinely portray themselves as fiscal guardians. In truth, they, like the Democrats, are irresponsible wastrels. Outlays are up by one third under President George W. Bush, making him the biggest spender since Lyndon B. Johnson. As the Cato Institute's Stephen Slivinski observes, "Even after excluding spending on defense and homeland security, Bush is still the biggest-spending president in 30 years."

In contrast, Ronald Reagan cut real domestic spending. Notes Slivinski: "George W. Bush's tenure, however, is a return to the Johnson and Carter philosophy of budgeting: across-the-board increases in defense as well as nondefense spending, and at astonishing rates."

Other than a brief moment after the GOP gained control of Congress in 1994, Republican legislators have shown little interest in controlling spending. Outlays continue to move ever upward, irrespective of year or party—or program effectiveness. In its 1994 Contract With America, the GOP promised to kill three Cabinet departments and more than 200 programs. All of the departments and all but 19 of the programs survive. The collective budget of the largest 100 programs on the Republicans hit list are up more than a quarter, even after adjusting for inflation.

Since 2001, total domestic outlays have jumped an incredible 36 percent. As for the Bush administration's supposed newfound stringency, Slivinski points out that, "Even if Congress passes Bush's new budget exactly as proposed, not a single cabinet-level agency will be smaller than when Bush assumed office." Comptroller General David M. Walker reports that the current federal debt and other unfunded liabilities run $45 trillion in current dollars, or about $150,000 per person—the same as Americans' average net worth. And GOP legislators are no more willing to make hard fiscal decisions than the President is. The irresponsibility is mutually reinforcing. Rep. Tom Cole (R-OK) rightly observes that "we have used the legislative and executive branch as well as anybody to achieve our policy aims."

Not all expenditures are created equal. There is more than enough simple waste. There also are thousands of pork-barrel projects, whereby legislators take money from U.S. taxpayers to pay for projects for local voters. Even where the government fulfills its formal responsibilities—national defense, for instance—it usually spends far more than necessary (in this case, by protecting almost every country except America).

Particularly obnoxious is our government's welfare program for business. It is one thing to devote money to poor people, but why should the federal government collect taxpayer dollars to underwrite big exporters, such as Boeing? Or to pay to advertise Big Macs abroad? Or to help the oil companies come up with new oil discovery and recovery techniques? Or to underwrite office developers and home builders?

Slivinski figures some 130 programs underwrite business to the tune of $90 billion annually. These payments pervade the federal budget; even the Department of Defense has been used as a vehicle to enrich business. Economist Stephen Moore testified before the House Budget Committee: "These welfare payments come in every conceivable shape and size, including government grants, contracts, cut rate insurance, loans, and loan guarantees."

The primary problem is expenditures, because subsidies cost more than tax preferences. Congress frequently twists the tax code to the advantage of special interests, very often individual businesses or single industries. However, there is an important difference between subsidies and targeted tax cuts: Subsidies transfer wealth from those who earned it to those who have not done so, while tax cuts typically allow some earners to keep more of their own money. The best response to preferential tax cuts is to reform taxes more generally, broadly cutting rates for earners while eliminating special preferences.

The largest single font of corporate-welfare programs is the Department of Agriculture. In 1995, the GOP Congress passed the Freedom to Farm Act, nominally designed to reduce the federal role in agriculture. When food prices dropped, however, the Republicans rushed to dump "emergency" cash payments on an important political constituency. Then, in 2002, the Republicans essentially abandoned the legislation. The Congressional Budget Office figures farm spending will run $97 billion between 2006 and 2010.

Some of this taxpayer money does not even go to farmers who are actually farming. Even Rich Lowry of *National Review* notes:

> Federal subsidies are technically designated only for those who actually work in farming. But that restriction is evaded, sometimes by people occasionally participating in farm-related telephone conference calls. Dubious partnerships are a way to get around restrictions on how much any one operation is supposed to get in federal payments. As a result, some agriculture businesses are little better than Enrons with tractors.

The largest amount of government dollars runs through the Commodity Credit Corporation to subsidize crop production. Some subsidies are more complicated: Tobacco subsidies mix production quotas and price guarantees. As if decades of these tobacco subsidies—even as government was conducting yet another War on Cigarettes—were not enough, last year,

---

Doug Bandow is a senior fellow at the Cato Institute and a former special assistant to President Ronald Reagan.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Congress voted to spend $10.1 billion to buy up tobacco allotments. Now the House is considering legislation to extend the pay-off to reservists serving in Iraq who missed collecting the booty because they were not able to sow a crop in 2003.

Uncle Sam runs a variety of promotion programs, both domestic and foreign. In some cases, the Department of Agriculture collects forced assessments from producers and runs propaganda campaigns. Cattle producers challenged the program, but, in May, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld Washington's state-managed advertising.

Campaign-funding abuses pervade the two major political parties and are inextricably linked to corporate welfare. The connection between political contributions and business subsidies is why President Bill Clinton appointed a succession of Democratic fixers and fundraisers as Commerce secretary.

In the case of sugar, direct payments are buttressed by import restrictions, pushing domestic prices up to two or three times international levels. In fact, sugar producers are among the most fervent opponents of the Bush administration's proposed Central American Free Trade Agreement. Whatever one thinks of CAFTA, U.S. policy should not be decided by a handful of sugar-beet and cane producers desiring to live off of everyone else to the tune of upward of two billion dollars annually.

To its credit, the White House has proposed limiting any individual farmer to $250,000 (compared to the present level of $360,000) per year. Today, a tenth of recipients collect 60 percent of the payments. However, few legislators share even this modest interest in fiscal integrity.

Many other examples of corporate welfare have been in the news of late. For instance, the Pension Benefit Guarantee Corporation (PBGC), intended to protect the retirements of workers at failing companies, has become the dumping ground for uncompetitive airlines. Both US Airways and United have shifted their liabilities onto Washington: The PBGC is now $23 billion in the red.

Delta, Northwest, and other airlines are also clamoring for relief and threatening to follow the other two airlines into bankruptcy. Left unreformed, the PBGC is a potential fiscal black hole. Collectively, private pension plans are underfunded by about $450 billion, and, on average, one plan defaults every three days.

The Bush administration and the European Union have filed competing suits before the World Trade Organization over their respective subsidies to aircraft manufacturers Boeing and Airbus. The United States has the better case, but only relatively. For years, the Export-Import Bank has been known as "Boeing's Bank" for generously underwriting foreign purchases of that company's aircraft.

Boeing has reaped federal and state tax benefits, and, moreover, defense procurement has been designed to its advantage. In 2001, the Bush administration proposed $30 billion to lease aerial tankers in a transaction that would have cost more than purchasing the tankers outright. "We all know that this is a bailout for Boeing," observed Ronald G. Garant of the Pentagon's comptroller's office, in an e-mail cited in the newly released Department of Defense inspector general's report. Conflict-of-interest charges ultimately sank the deal.

Recently, both the House and Senate approved variants of a bloated transportation bill. The Senate's measure cost almost $300 billion. The House and the Bush administration sought to demonstrate their fiscal *bona fides* by holding the line at "only" $284 billion—a 35-percent increase over the previous program.

Moreover, in the name of energy independence, the Bush administration is pushing boondoggle-filled energy legislation. Between the President and Congress, virtually no energy business would not be subsidized. For instance, the House bill authorized $11 billion—and as much as $90 billion—for energy research. Two billion dollars of that would be for research on deep-water recovery of oil and natural gas. The House had an $8 million sugar-ethanol pilot project in Hawaii; the Senate included $250 million in loan guarantees for even more projects.

President Bush pressed a Coal Research Initiative to improve the environmental efficiency of coal-powered plants. He has pushed a $1.8 billion Hydrogen Fuel Initiative to create hydrogen-powered fuel cells for cars.

The House legislation also included $8 billion in tax incentives—$3.2 billion for oil and natural gas, $1.5 billion for electricity, $1.4 billion for coal, $1.3 billion for nuclear, and $415 million for renewables and efficiency technology. The White House wants to create a $2.5-billion tax incentive for energy-efficient hybrid and fuel-cell vehicles. It also proposed tax benefits for "residential solar energy systems, combined heat and power projects, and electricity produced from alternative and renewable sources such as wind, solar, biomass, and landfill gas."

That isn't all. The bill would increase mandated use of ethanol—an expensive fuel that takes 29-percent more energy to produce than it creates—from three billion gallons in 2004 to eight billion gallons in 2012. (This increase would cost consumers $8.4 million annually.) The Bush administration has undertaken the Energy Star program "to promote energy efficient products." Further, President Bush wants more money for the "Weatherization Assistance Program." And he would turn old military bases over for use as oil refineries.

There are many proposals to spend even more. For instance, a coalition of environmentalists and national-security conservatives proposes devoting as much as $12 billion to developing more fuel-efficient cars and alternative-energy sources. Lobbying group Set America Free is seeking billions for almost

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

everything: hybrid autos, ethanol and methanol plants, fuel cells, and hybrid vehicles.

President Bush justified his wasteful proposals as a means of promoting energy independence. But the marketplace for energy obviously works. Since 1970, 800 billion barrels of oil have been consumed, while 1,500 billion barrels of oil have been added. That is, a mix of economics and technology has increased the relative supply of petroleum—companies can explore and produce in deeper water, for instance. Meanwhile, the recovery rate for oil supplies has increased from 20 percent to 35 percent.

Companies have an incentive to invest in new energy technologies. General Motors already has devoted one billion dollars to creating a hydrogen-fuel-cell car. Although companies make mistakes, government "investments" almost always turn out poorly. The 1970's energy crisis spawned a series of expensive, wasteful initiatives, such as the Synthetic Fuels Corporation. Tens of billions of dollars disappeared, largely without a trace. The only beneficiaries were firms that cashed in as long as the federal largesse was flowing.

Corporate welfare is presented as a means to promote business and employment. These subsidies, however, actually reduce overall economic activity. Corporate welfare diverts money from economically productive to politically favored uses. Even when the spending is not a total bust, it is less productive than alternative private investment. The right way to improve economic growth, productivity, and job creation is to cut taxes and regulation for all enterprises rather than favoring a select few.

Since leading businessmen are often in the forefront of calling for fiscal responsibility, cutting corporate welfare should be a slam dunk. In 1987, nearly 200 business leaders joined the Bipartisan Budget Appeal, organized by former Commerce secretary Peter G. Peterson. Joining the list were the heads of Air Products & Chemicals, Archer-Daniels-Midland, Allis-Chalmers, Ashland Oil, Boeing, Boise Cascade, Brown University, Chrysler, General Dynamics, Harvard University, Hyatt, James River Corp., Kaiser Aluminum, McGraw-Hill, Mead Corp., Metropolitan Life Insurance, Mobil Oil, Packaging Corp., Pennwalt, Potlatch, Scott Paper, Southern California Edison, TRW, Unocal, *U.S. News & World Report*, Westinghouse, and Weyerhaeuser Co. All of these enterprises had received one or more federal subsidies, yet none offered to return their ill-gotten gains. A decade later, numerous corporate leaders made a similar appeal to Congress, but they responded with silence when challenged by Ralph Nader to forgo federal welfare payments.

Even if companies refuse to sacrifice in order to promote the public interest, cutting corporate business subsidies should be an easy political sell. The programs unfairly enrich wealthy and powerful interests at the expense of poor consumers and middle-class taxpayers. Killing business subsidies would free up $90 billion annually for other purposes—for instance, to fund tax cuts for people currently overcharged to finance other wasteful government programs or to manage the transition from Social Security's pay-as-you-go system to private workers' retirement accounts.

According to Public Choice economics, concentrated private interests tend to defeat the diffuse public interest. Thus, combining cuts in corporate welfare with another popular initiative, such as tax reductions, would be the most effective way to build public support for eliminating corporate welfare. Another possibility, akin to that used to close federal bases, would be to create a commission to recommend program cuts, with Congress limited to a yes-or-no vote on its final report.

Progress also could be made by taking a variety of smaller steps to cut aid to dependent corporations. For instance, Stephen Moore suggests requiring companies to report how many federal grants and how much federal money they receive every year; limiting the number of subsidies any company can receive; barring aid to any individual or company with net earnings of more than one million dollars; setting time limits for corporations to receive federal aid (the two-year restriction set for AFDC is an obvious place to start); restricting aid to profitable firms (terminate grants to any company with positive earnings, or earnings of a certain level, the year before); and barring corporate-welfare beneficiaries from lobbying Congress (choose either the money or the right to lobby).

Corporate welfare is presented as a means to promote business and employment. These subsidies, however, divert money from economically productive to politically favored uses. Even when the spending is not a total bust, it is less productive than alternative private investment.

Moore's last suggestion exposes a hidden problem. Campaign-funding abuses pervade the two major political parties and are inextricably linked to corporate welfare. Indeed, the connection between political contributions and business subsidies is why President Bill Clinton appointed a succession of Democratic fixers and fundraisers—Mickey Kantor, Ronald Brown, and William Daley—as Commerce secretary.

Unfortunately, for all of the claims of fiscal responsibility that flow out of Washington, the bipartisan consensus favors big, expansive, expensive government. As venture capitalist Tim Draper complained to a group of Senate Republicans in 1997: "If you can't push AT&T and GE off the dole, how can we ever expect to get farmers, unions, artists, and seniors to give up their subsidies?"

There is obviously much that could be done to encourage fiscal responsibility. Constitutional limitations, procedural reform, and streamlining entitlements would all help. Most important, however, would be for policymakers to grow a little backbone. Legislators—especially Republicans who most often prattle on about fiscal responsibility—need to find a new application for "Just say no."

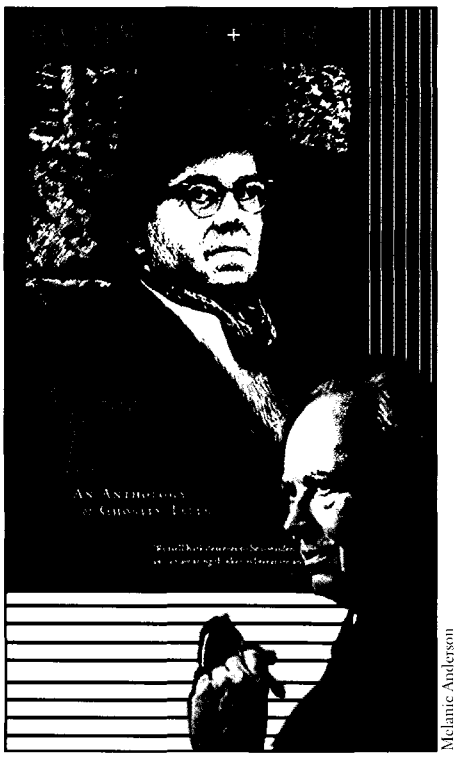
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Things That Go Bump in the Night

by Scott P. Richert

"We are born with the dead / See, they return and bring us with them."
—T.S. Eliot, "Little Gidding"

Ancestral Shadows
by Russell Kirk
Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Company; 406 pp., $25.00



Melanie Anderson

"The philosophical and ideological currents of a period necessarily affecting its imaginative literature," wrote Russell Kirk in "A Cautionary Note on the Ghostly Tale,"

> the supernatural in fiction has seemed ridiculous to most, nearly all this century. Yet as the rising generation regains the awareness that "nature" is something more than mere fleshly sensation, and that something may lie above human nature, and something below it—why, the divine and the diabolical rise up again in serious literature. In this renewal of imagination, fiction of the preternatural and the occult may have a part.

In the renewal of that fiction, Dr. Kirk—better known as the author of *The Conservative Mind* and one of the founders of the modern American conservative movement—tried to play his part. The stories collected in *Ancestral Shadows: An Anthology of Ghostly Tales* are only 19 of the dozens of fantastic tales that Kirk published in his lifetime and an even smaller portion of the scores of stories that he told to family, friends, and even the passing strangers to whom he so frequently extended his hospitality. While his political and historical works vastly outweigh these tales in both number and influence, Kirk himself knew that his fiction could more directly shape the moral imagination. And it has had the opportunity to do so: While *The Conservative Mind* has remained in print since its first publication in 1953, it is not Kirk's best-selling book. That honor belongs to *The Old House of Fear* (1961): Though no longer in print, this gothic horror novel has sold more copies than all of Kirk's other books—*combined*.

So why is Kirk's fiction not better known among self-identified conservatives? The first answer, sadly, is that most such people do not read fiction—and, all too often, they take great pride in saying so. The other answer, equally important, is that Kirk's fiction is truly conservative, and self-identified conservatives today simply aren't. *National Review*'s John J. Miller has, in recent years, recommended Kirk's fiction to NR readers, but when Kirk's memoirs, *The Sword of the Imagination*, were published in 1995, Miller scoffed at Kirk's belief in ghosts. What kind of progressive, compassionate, big-government, national-greatness conservative can believe that "There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, Than are dreamt of in your philosophy"? Let such thoughts in, and uncertainty may follow, and then what would happen to our ability to *act*?

Such uncertainty surrounds us every day, and it is only the ideologue—a creature of the left, whether he calls himself a Marxist or a conservative—who can see the world entirely devoid of shades of gray. Shadows are never uniformly black, and if the hard lines of rationalism are allowed to give way to fear—either the salutary fear of the Lord or the fear that arises naturally from our fallen human nature—we may soon find that we perceive in those shadows more than just the play of light. And since, throughout the centuries, man has believed those perceptions to be glimpses of a greater reality, who are we to be certain otherwise?

In opposition to the rationalist and the ideologue, Dr. Kirk had his own certain-

Scott P. Richert is the executive editor of Chronicles.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ty—or perhaps it would be better to say his own faith, "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things unseen." For him, ghost stories were not simply a reflection of an unseen world—which could, of course, simply be horrifying, as in the fiction of H.P. Lovecraft—but an expression of his hope of a life beyond this life, of the existence of Purgatory, even more so than of Heaven. "No doctrine is more comforting than the teaching of Purgatory," he wrote in his memoirs, " . . . [f]or purgatorily, one may be granted opportunity to atone for having let some precious life run out like water from a neglected tap into sterile sands."

The best stories that Kirk wrote draw fully from the font of this comforting doctrine. They do so without being didactic—in his fiction, Kirk rarely uses the word *Purgatory*. But what else could you call the hotel in "Saviourgate" (1976) in which Mark Findlay, a man down on his luck ("In more ways than one, he had lost his sense of direction"), a failure at his responsibilities, contemplating suicide in a railway station, finds himself for an evening, before deciding, for the sake of his sick wife, to pull himself together and travel to London for a business meeting:

> For Marian must not be left to suffer alone, and there were the sensibilities of railway porters to think of. Hyde Park breakfast or no Hyde Park breakfast, something yet might be accomplished in London with somebody or other—given will, given spirit, given grace. Behind this evening's charade there had moved some quickening power, some hint or glimpse of hope. *How* a man dies, and with what justification: this absurd interval of talk had wakened Findlay to awareness of such matters. He would not plunge himself into nothingness without another effort or two.

One of the men Findlay encounters in his brief sojourn between life and death is Ralph Bain, a recurring character in Kirk's stories who, while bearing no physical resemblance to Kirk, has, like another recurring character, Manfred Arcane, a strong spiritual likeness to his author. We first meet Bain in "Sorworth Place" (1952), one of Kirk's earliest stories. (Rod Serling made it into an episode of *Night Gallery* in 1972.) A great hulk of a man, injured in the head in "the war," Bain drifts from town to town throughout Scotland, living a sort of Purgatory on earth, until he meets Ann Lurlin, a beautiful widow. For his unrequited love of her, he finds himself, one horrifying night, entering the true Purgatory.

Two of the best stories in this volume, "There's a Long, Long Trail A-Winding" (1976) and "Watchers at the Strait Gate" (1980), feature other recurring characters—Frank Sarsfield, another wanderer, and Father Justin O'Malley, one of the last good Catholic priests, exiled by his bishop to Anthonyville, a rural outpost suspiciously similar to Kirk's own beloved Mecosta, Michigan. Indeed, these stories draw on the places and people that Kirk knew well: The house in which Frank takes refuge from a snowstorm is clearly Kirk's New House at Piety Hill, shaped out of the brick addition he had built on to his ancestral home before the latter burned to the ground on the night of Ash Wednesday, 1975. Frank himself, Kirk acknowledged in his memoirs, is Clinton Wallace, a hobo "who lived with the Kirks for six years and then was buried in their family plot." It was Clinton who was responsible for the great fire: Instructed by Kirk to bank the embers in the fireplace for the night, Clinton had taken the easy way out and left a huge fire blazing. When the chimney collapsed, the wooden structure was doomed.

"There's a Long, Long Trail A-Winding" is more than a ghostly tale; it is, in a way, a literary Purgatory for Clinton Wallace, who, in the guise of Frank Sarsfield, redeems his dislike for physical labor that resulted in the destruction of the Old House through violent action that saves the lives of the fictional family that resides in the New House. In his stories, Kirk did not simply seek to entertain; in a manner that any accomplished narrator would understand, he completed his own life, setting wrongs aright and providing meaning to seemingly random events, such as the kidnapping of his wife, Annette, which forms the basis for "The Princess of All Lands" (1979), another story collected in this volume.

("There's a Long, Long Trail A-Winding" won the World Fantasy Award for best short story in 1979, besting a story by Fritz Leiber, the great science-fiction writer, who had won the World Fantasy Award for Lifetime Achievement just the year before, proof—if any was needed—that Kirk was no amateur in his art.)

These ghostly tales are, alas, not uniformly masterful. While Kirk wrote in "A Cautionary Note on the Ghostly Tale" (reprinted here at the end of the book; it might have served better as an author's foreword) that "I do not ask the artist of the fantastic to turn didactic moralist," there is, unfortunately, really no other way to interpret the manner in which he disposes of the protagonists of the first two stories in the collection, "Ex Tenebris" (1957) and "Behind the Stumps" (1950). Both men are government agents, not simply caught up in bureaucracy and swept along by progress but relishing both. When they meet horrifying ends for the sin of being nothing more than modern men, we may take some pleasure in their demise, but it is a perverse pleasure that we know we should not indulge. Hollow men, these agents will have much to answer for in the next world; but there is something unsettling about the glee with which Kirk hastens their demise.

Since both stories were written while Kirk was still in his 30's, they can be excused as expressions of the zealousness of a young man. Even Russell Kirk, whose biographers often make him sound as if he entered the world full-grown, matured with the passing of the years. It would, therefore, have been useful if Vigen Guroian, the editor of this volume and the author of its superb Introduction, had dated the stories or provided a timeline of their publication. (The publication dates I have noted are drawn from Charles Brown's excellent *Russell Kirk: A Bibliography*, which unfortunately only runs through 1981.)

That "Ex Tenebris" and "Behind the Stumps," both published originally in English mystery magazines, were well received by readers who likely did not consciously regard themselves as conservative (and therefore would not have been expected to revel in the destruction of progressive men) illustrates a point that Kirk would immediately have understood. In his fiction, as in his other works, Kirk, like Irving Babbitt before him, stresses the importance of both imagination and will over reason. While self-identified conservatives may not naturally gravitate toward the ghost story, those whose imaginations can conceive of a world of shadows are more likely to be, however unconsciously, more conservative—which is to say, since Kirk regarded conservatism as the absence of ideology and ideology as the distortion of human life, more fully human.

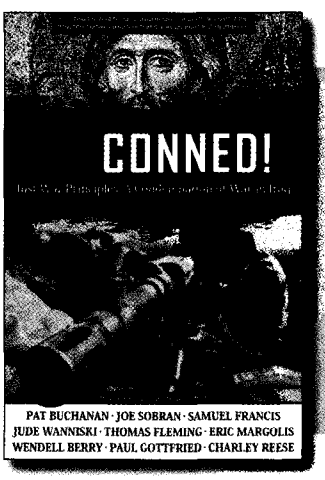
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Still, the moralism of these two stories indicates that Kirk himself was not untouched by ideology—or at least by the occasional failure of imaginative sympathy. Later, when he chose as the subject of his stories people and places that he knew intimately, this moralism disappears, never to resurface. Manfred Arcane (clearly an avatar of Kirk) can act heroically, even though he is, by his own account, a flawed man.

For those who are familiar with Kirk's other writings but not with his fiction, there are some moments of surprise and delight in this volume. While most of the stories are narrated in a voice that is recognizably Kirk's, a few, such as "Lex Talionis" (1979), "The Reflex-Man in Whinnymuir Close" (1984), and "An Encounter by Mortstone Pond" (1984), beautifully illustrate what Kirk could do when he deliberately set aside his 19th-century literary style. He had demonstrated his versatility previously in *A Creature of the Twilight: His Memorials* (1966), in my opinion the best of Kirk's novels and one which is disturbingly fresh in a world in which the United States has arrogated to herself the role of the world's policeman. While *A Creature of the Twilight* tells the story of Manfred Arcane, Minister Without Portfolio of Hamnegri, as he struggles to restore order in this small African country which, through a coup, has become a battleground for the great powers, Kirk skillfully switches the narration back and forth, chapter after chapter, between the voices of a dozen different actors, from Arcane himself, to an American State Department diplomat, to radio and newspaper correspondents (with subtle and uncanny differences of style for each one), to an American mulatto from Georgia, to three women ranging in age, experience, and beauty. In the entire novel, he strikes not a single false note, and reading Kirk's similar deftness in these three stories, I found myself wishing that he had stretched the bounds of his style more often.

For those who have read *A Creature of the Twilight* and Kirk's final novel, *Lord of the Hollow Dark* (1980), there are some pleasures here as well, because we have collected in one place the stories of Ralph Bain and Manfred Arcane that tie the two novels together. While Kirk stretched the back story of Arcane beyond the breaking point to allow him to become the hero of *Lord of the Hollow Dark* (there is no plausible way to reconcile Arcane's account of his father in the latter book with that in the former), "The Last God's Dream" (1979) and "The Peculiar Demesne of Archvicar Gerontion" (1980) help explain how Arcane arrives in Scotland, the setting of *Lord of the Hollow Dark*.

In his Introduction, Guroian describes "An Encounter by Mortstone Pond," the final story in this volume, as "Kirk's little masterpiece, a haunting evocation of how time and eternity meet in the human soul and consciousness, wherein also God is present and speaks to the person." This remarkable gem is, as they say, alone worth the price of admission. Contrasted with "Ex Tenebris" and "Behind the Stumps," it shows clearly how Kirk's fiction and his thought as a whole deepened and matured over the space of some 40 years. The shortest of the stories, it is also the simplest in both language and action, and yet, in recounting two incidents, 50 years apart, in the life of one man as he walks along the shore of Mortstone Pond, it reveals a spiritual depth that rivals the greatest of Christian literature. It bears reading, and re-reading, and then reading once again. Thankfully, with the publication of this admirable volume, we can all keep it close at hand. C


CONNED!
PAT BUCHANAN · JOE SOBRAN · SAMUEL FRANCIS
JUDE WANNISKI · THOMAS FLEMING · ERIC MARGOLIS
WENDELL BERRY · PAUL GOTTFRIED · CHARLEY REESE

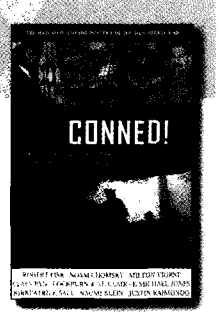
"*What is* **MORALLY WRONG** *can never be* **ADVANTAGEOUS.**" —CICERO

"...a sobering look into the Iraq war."
—Congressman Walter B. Jones (R-NC)

"These volumes are most welcome...they unite writers of diverse backgrounds to end this unjust and unwinnable war."
—(former) Congressman Paul Findley (R-IL)

"...exposes the false claims of the neoconservatives, who sponsored an act of naked aggression and destroyed America's reputation."
—Paul Craig Roberts, former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury

THEOLOGIANS, JOURNALISTS, ACADEMICS, INTELLIGENCE AND MILITARY PROFESSIONALS DISSECT THE POLITICAL AND MORAL ASPECTS OF THE WAR IN OVER 65 MUST-READ ESSAYS.



Neo-CONNED!
Just War Principles: A Condemnation of War in Iraq
6"x9" • hardcover • ISBN 1932528040 • 352pp • **$25.95**

Neo-CONNED! Again
Hypocrisy, Lawlessness, and the Rape of Iraq
6"x9" • hardcover • ISBN 1932528059 • 512pp • **$29.95**

MAIL ORDER: INCLUDE **$4.50** S/H PER BOOK, **$6.50** PER SET

SPECIAL OFFER EXTENDED: GET BOTH HARDBACK BOOKS FOR $45.00.

"These books serve a number of purposes that serve America's national interests. Well Done."
—Michael Scheuer, former Chief, Bin Laden Unit, Counterterrorist Center, CIA; author of *Imperial Hubris: Why the West Is Losing the War on Terror*

phone/fax: 877.IHS.PRES (447.7737)
internet: www.neoconned.com
e-mail: order@neoconned.com
mail: LID Publications, Dept. D
1805 Midlothian Ct.
Vienna, VA 22182 USA

Light IN THE Darkness PUBLICATIONS
AN IMPRINT OF IHS PRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Raisonné Dérèglement

by Catharine Savage Brosman

Running With the Bulls: My Years With the Hemingways
by Valerie Hemingway
New York: Ballantine Books;
313 pp., $24.95

◆

Whether all authorities agree with what is averred here—that Ernest Hemingway was one of America's greatest writers—is uncertain. Surely, however, his work constituted a watershed; if his chastened style and objective manner no longer seem striking, it is because subsequent American writing owes so much to him that his originality is disguised. *Prima facie* evidence of his enduring appeal is offered by the amazingly vigorous Hemingway industry, which rejuvenates itself according to critical trends, now ranging—as a current publisher's catalogue notes—from "formalist and structuralist theory to cultural and interdisciplinary explorations." Holdings of a library with which I am familiar indicate that, since 1990, at least 136 volumes have appeared that are devoted, in whole or considerable part, to his life and writings.

Valerie Hemingway, née Danby-Smith, author of the present memoir, married Ernest's youngest son, Gregory, in 1966. She had served for approximately a year as secretary and factotum to Ernest after their initial meeting, in 1959, in Spain. After his suicide in July 1961, she became a sort of *aide-de-camp* to Mary, his fourth wife and widow, helping her close the house in Cuba and, despite the embargo on outgoing shipments, remove the writer's very valuable property—manuscripts, correspondence, books, paintings. Valerie then assisted Mary in countless other ways, including sorting of papers, in an office provided by Scribner's. (Later, she worked as a journalist and publishers' publicity agent.)

The subtitle of this book, featuring *Hemingway* in the plural, is thus justified, whereas the main title (chosen perhaps to attract attention and stress anew the writer's machismo) is misleading, since most of the book does not concern Miss Danby-Smith's and Ernest's time in Spain. The memoir bears encomiastic endorsements from well-known figures: Norman Mailer, Tom Brokaw, and biographer Jeffrey Meyers. After beginning with Hemingway's funeral, the narrative returns to the memoirist's birth (in 1940 in Dublin, of Anglo-Irish parents), her convent upbringing, and her early career as a journalist; it then recounts her time in the great man's company and traces in detail her subsequent activities. Many passages concern his family and friends, shoved into prominence in literary history by virtue of being in his circle. The memoir thus complements writings by other Hemingways, including Leicester (Ernest's brother), Gregory, Mary, and Hemingway's son Jack, as well as standard biographies by Carlos Baker, Meyers, and others. While many pages overlap with their accounts, the author furnishes, presumably, certain details known chiefly to her.

The memoir is something of a buffet, where one may select what one likes. If you want further evidence of Ernest's need to dominate others, you can get it here. If you appreciate him as an *aficionado* of tauromachy, you will be served. If Mailer interests you, you will note his portrait. Should you be interested in Brendan Behan, you will observe what Valerie has to say about her affair with him, which led to the birth of an illegitimate child. If you wish to learn even more about Hemingway's relationships with women, you can study Valerie's reactions, at age 19, to him and follow his growing fascination with her; the relationship has been traced before, but not so personally. He intended, she writes, to marry her, since Mary no longer cared about him. Valerie's role in keeping certain papers from the public, including letters between her and Ernest (one escaped, by chance) and between Ernest and Gregory, is noteworthy. (While Mary set policy, Valerie, charged with the triage of materials, made many decisions.)

The most striking character, after Ernest, is Gregory. To be Ernest Hemingway's son was apparently a dreadful fate, and to be married to the son was almost as bad. Valerie's tale is cautionary, demonstrating amply that the artistic life, when it approaches Rimbaud's "long, immense et raisonné dérèglement de tous les sens," is disordered, unhealthy, unproductive, and unhappy, if not dangerous and downright immoral, and that these ills are often visited on artists' families also. Who and what were responsible for Gregory's character and behavior cannot, of course, be determined with certainty. At age 19, he had a bitter quarrel with his father, which led to permanent estrangement. He was plainly self-destructive. After Valerie and he wed—he had been married twice before—evidence of a profoundly disturbed personality, which she calls manic-depressive, became abundant. Though he fathered children, he was a compulsive cross-dresser; he confessed that he had worn items of women's clothing even as a boy. He drank excessively and took illegal drugs. Trained as a physician, he did not finish any of the specialized medicine courses for which he registered; he rarely held a position for long, uprooted his family frequently, lived recklessly and spent money foolishly, and was, in short, unreliable and ineffectual. For months on end, he did not work at all. Her Anglo-Irish upbringing notwithstanding, Valerie had been converted to belief in the efficacy of psychiatry, whether employing verbal or pharmaceutical means. As she puts it, in New York, where they lived for some years, going to therapy was "a matter of pride, a status symbol." She thus placed considerable hope in "cures" of one sort or another, as did Gregory, ostensibly, at least; he submitted to electric-shock treatments, took strong antidepressants, and sought out counseling, all in vain. Yet psychiatrists repeatedly stated, orally and on paper, that he was rational and stable. One, after making an official declaration to that effect, told Valerie that, even if the contrary were true, he would never "rat on" a fellow doctor and, thus, would have concealed any unfavorable diagnosis. In short, the psychiatrists' record in his case, as in that of Ernest, who was misdiagnosed, is deplorable.

In Montana, during the last years of their marriage, Gregory grew wilder: threatening, drugging, and hitting his wife, jeopardizing the children's safety, parading as a transvestite, and often causing such commotion that he was arrested. He proposed undergoing a "sex change" and, ultimately, in 1995—by then, Valerie had left him—carried out that plan. When he telephoned from a distant motel to say that, having left the clinic before the recuperation period ended, he was hemorrhaging badly, a son was dispatched to assist him. Confined in an asylum, he was allowed to leave in order to fly to Atlanta, where he was to check himself into an institution for addicted physicians. Instead, at the Atlanta airport, he simply took another plane to Miami.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He died five years later in a New York women's prison of heart disease, apparently, after having been picked up in the street five days before, naked but carrying a dress and high-heeled shoes.

Whatever one thinks of Ernest Hemingway, one is unlikely to blame him wholly for such deviancy, next to which his own life appears nearly normal, at least during the decades when, as Meyers wrote, his life was marked by "personal and aesthetic emphasis on truth and reality." The parents' neglect of the boy when he was small cannot have been good, however, nor pressures on him to perform well (often he did, but that only increased the burden) and, as Valerie suggests, incipient rivalry with such an attractive but overbearing father. Worst of all may have been the example of self-indulgence set by the writer, who lived hedonistically even as he practiced literary discipline. Valerie and Gregory's tale is instructive, if banal; only the fact that, ultimately, Hemingway is at its center prevents it from being just another sordid story of failure, flight from responsibility, and wounding of those one loves—the sort spilled out in barrooms and on psychiatrists' couches every week.

Valerie Hemingway's style, though ordinary and marred occasionally by clichés and repetitions, is serviceable. The numerous errors in grammar and usage, however, are deplorable—among others, comma splices; *their* as a singular possessive; *brought* for *taken*; dangling or misplaced participles; *me* for *I*; and frequent misuse of the reflexive *myself*. This is supposed to be a *literary* memoir. What has happened to editing? Editors, where they exist, must have been recruited from the sort of students who resisted my attempts to enlighten them (in French class) on matters of English grammar. It would be unreasonable to expect Hemingway critics and biographers to emulate the high performance standards of the bullfighters he admired, such as Ordóñez, for whom errors meant dishonor—if not loss of life—or even his own exacting writing requirements; but care in language would be a way of paying him homage.

Catharine Savage Brosman, professor emerita of French at Tulane University and honorary research professor at the University of Sheffield, has published numerous works of poetry and prose, including The Muscled Truce *(LSU Press).*

The Conservative Cosmos

by Clark Stooksbury

South Park Conservatives: The Revolt Against Liberal Media Bias
by Brian C. Anderson
Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing; 1,283 pp., $24.95

◆

There is no question that the media landscape has shifted seismically in the last two decades. In the Reagan years, I eagerly subscribed to *National Review* and the *American Spectator*; I even sent in an ad from *National Review* for a magazine called *Chronicles of Culture*. Those publications, joined by *Human Events* and numerous syndicated columnists, made up a large portion of the conservative media cosmos. A few years later, after Reagan's FCC abolished the fairness doctrine (requiring broadcast radio and TV channels to provide balance to controversial opinions), Rush Limbaugh began a nationally syndicated radio program that dramatically changed both AM radio and political commentary.

As recently as ten years ago, political and cultural commentary was still substantially centralized, and the big event in the right-wing-media universe was the founding of the neoconservative *Weekly Standard*. Today, that centralized media model lies in tatters. This is part of the story that Brian C. Anderson is telling in *South Park Conservatives: The Revolt Against Liberal Media Bias*. As the title makes clear, the author is concentrating on the successes of conservatives (meaning, in this context, Republican Party/Bush-administration loyalists) in advancing their agenda against the wishes of the mainstream media. Anderson covers the rise of talk radio, Fox News, entertainment that mocks the left (primarily the crude cartoon *South Park*), blogs and other internet phenomena, and the campus cultural wars—as well as the intolerant response to these phenomena of many people on the left.

One of the stronger sections of *South Park Conservatives* is the chapter on the "illiberal left." At times, it seems as if liberals, suffering from Tourette's Syndrome, are unable to keep such words as *racist* and *sexist* from escaping their mouths in their attacks on political opponents. Anderson provides several examples of such behavior in response to the growth in conservative media, including a suggestion by former U.S. senator from South Dakota Tom Daschle that talk radio inspires would-be assassins. Anderson also notes the acts of voter intimidation and vandalism practiced by some Kerry supporters during the 2004 campaign.

Of course, it is not as if Anderson's allies on the right have been innocent of the same sort of behavior. A brief web search reveals numerous charges of political intimidation occurring during the 2004 political season on both sides, including the bizarre case of a Florida man who threatened his girlfriend with a screwdriver because she refused to support George W. Bush. The web allows bottom feeders of all stripes to have a voice, and, if Anderson is interested, he can find plenty of expressions of hate from posters at *FreeRepublic.com* and *Lucianne.com*. He can also find numerous accusations of treason and the like being made against people who fail to march in lockstep with the Bush administration. The followers of both the Republican and Democratic parties manage to convince themselves that they alone are virtuous, while the other guys are thugs.

The largest single media phenomenon that Anderson chronicles is the launch of the Fox News Channel in 1996. Anderson simply gushes about Fox, and, indeed, it is fair enough that Republicans should have their own news channel, given that most of the other networks lean politically in the other direction. However, I cannot swallow the working-class baloney that Anderson serves up when discussing Fox. He practically spits Red Man chaw in quoting "pugnacious Irishman" Bill O'Reilly, who describes his show as representing a "working class point of view." Anderson also informs the reader that Fox's CEO, Roger Ailes, who grew up in a "blue-collar Ohio community," reports news for the "whole country that elitists will never acknowledge." Reading such hogwash gives me a new appreciation for ABC's Peter Jennings, who couldn't be any snootier if he read the news in French while enjoying a piquant Chardonnay.

Anderson skates on thin ice, however, when discussing the content of Fox News. He credits Fox's Jim Angle with discrediting Richard Clarke by revealing the contents of a background briefing from August 2002 that supposedly contradicted Clarke's testimony (highly criti-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cal of the Bush administration) before the September 11 Commission. The problem here is that the language of the 2002 briefing is so tepid that it does not come close to saying what Anderson and Angle want it to say. In the briefing, Clarke charged that the Bush administration had "decided to initiate a process to look at those issues which had been on the table for a couple of years." Further, the "deputies then tasked the development of the implementation details . . . " The only thing that qualifies as aggressive here is Richard Clarke's use of jargon.

South Park Conservatives credits Fox News for playing up the discovery of sarin gas in Iraq last year. For those who blinked and missed it, the U.S. military did discover some banned WMD's in Iraq in 2004, in the form of obsolete and ineffective mustard and sarin gas. Anderson praises Fox for leading with the sarin story for a whole day, although the article at *FOXNews.com* notes that the shells, dating probably from before 1991, were inoperative.

Anderson briefly dismisses the 2004 left-wing attack documentary *Outfoxed* as being "so biased in its depiction of the network's purported bias—quotes taken out of context, deceptive editing, you know the drill—that even some liberals criticized it." There are, in fact, many flaws in *Outfoxed*; even so, the film has its moments, the most embarrassing of which for the network's supporters is a lengthy exchange (preceding an interview taping) between Fox's Carl Cameron (whose wife was working for Bush/Cheney in 2000) and then-Governor Bush. The business couldn't have been more chummy had Cameron been sitting in Bush's lap.

The book's title refers to the extraordinarily crude (and funny) cartoon creation of Matt Parker and Trey Stone, perhaps the most salient example of growing antiliberalism in popular culture. (In one episode, the children of South Park, on a field trip to visit a rainforest, discover that the place is filled with wild animals and other dangers; they are rescued by a crew of workers in the process of razing the forest. Other episodes mock Rob Reiner's antismoking fanaticism and the community's attempts to keep a "Harbuck's" coffee outlet out of town, regarding which one of the characters observes that "without big corporations we wouldn't have things like cars and computers and canned soup.") While Stone and Parker claim to hate liberals (more precisely, they "f--king hate" liberals), it is not clear that they are making serious arguments for paving rain forests or leaving corporations unregulated. Still, *South Park Conservatives* represents a growing sense of self-congratulation on the right. Anderson believes that conservatives are "winning" the Culture War, and, if you think of politics as the ultimate team sport, perhaps they are. Republicans control the elected branches of government, and they set the media agenda far better than their political opponents. One has numerous opportunities to hear and read the views of Sean Hannity, Ann Coulter, and Bill O'Reilly. Beyond all of that, however, the right has little to show in the way of solid results, other than tax cuts that will be undone in the near future to pay for the Iraq invasion and other spending ventures of the Bush administration. On other fronts, the Bush administration is expanding the federal role in education and sending young mothers to fight in Iraq, while plotting to encourage illegal immigration with an amnesty plan. In the end, conservatives will have received precious little of substance from the Bush administration. But they will always have *South Park*.

Clark Stooksbury writes from Knoxville, Tennessee. His website is clarkstooksbury.blogspot.com.

Twentieth Century Fox

by James O. Tate

Nixon at the Movies: A Book About Belief
by Mark Feeney
Chicago: University of Chicago Press; 422 pp., $27.50

◆

If, indeed, the second half of the 20th century was, in our country, "the age of Nixon," as Robert Dole declared in his eulogy for the man at Yorba Linda in 1994, then Mark Feeney has undertaken to demonstrate just how that age fits into the larger category of the 20th century itself as "the age of Film," and to show as well not only what that meant for Richard Nixon but what it has meant for the rest of us.

Rehearsing Nixon's life as an engagement with film may seem a superficial approach; yet, as Mark Feeney has done the job, the exposition is both ingenious and convincing. Born in 1913 only a few miles from Hollywood, Nixon literally grew up with the industry—but on the wrong side of it. Not only was he to marry a Hollywood extra whom he liked to take to the movies, but he was himself, as a young man, a talented actor as well as an orator and a debater. Yet Nixon was never comfortable with Hollywood, nor was he "at home" in his native state. Precisely, however, because Nixon was the least comfortable of men, the anonymous dark released something in him as he stared at the silver screen. He was never known to quit a movie once it started, no matter how bad it was. The quality of the film was, to him, beside the point when it came to moviegoing—a not-so-strange phenomenon in a film-besotted nation characterized by a culture of celebrity.

Yes, everyone knows that Nixon watched *Patton* three times before and during the incursion into Cambodia, but Mark Feeney is not one to leave it at that. Nixon's affinities with General Patton were many and deep. Patton's father had married the daughter of the first elected mayor of Los Angeles. Patton was *different*—in spite of, or rather because of, his background. In Patton, Nixon recognized a man who had also been condescended to by Eisenhower. Finally, Patton himself had once been the object of a movement to draft him for the 12th District congressional seat that Nixon won in 1946. In a remarkable revision of received ideas, however, Feeney insists that the Nixon who saw Navy service in World War II was no Patton even in fantasy but, rather, "Mr. Roberts," as personified by that liberal icon, Henry Fonda. The faithful and diligent officer who ran "Nick's Snack Shack" as he supervised the unloading of supplies performed meritorious if modest services in a situation of boredom and frustration, as the screen's Douglas Roberts did.

Nixon was to view over 500 films during his presidency, while registering and even exploiting his enjoyment of John Ford, John Wayne, and Clint Eastwood. Nixon had no particular agenda so far as films were concerned, as long as they were conventional. But Feeney does have an agenda, and an unconventional one at that. His ventures into speculation are all the more appealing for their groundedness, for their imaginative en-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gagement as opposed to fanciful triviality. "Mr. Roberts" is the most benign of his "alternative Nixons," yet there are others. "Walter Neff" of Billy Wilder's *Double Indemnity* (1944) is perhaps the most surprising, but the deeply Californian character, divided against himself, does foreshadow the conflicted Nixon who would bring about his own destruction. Still, the most remarkable of such characters must be "Jefferson Smith" of Frank Capra's *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939), if only because, in reaction to the chaos caused by the Cambodian adventure, Nixon reenacted a scene from that movie by impulsively going out to the Lincoln Memorial to talk with disaffected students. This scene itself was later recreated in Oliver Stone's *Nixon* (1995), ensuring that the relations of film and reality become vertiginously confused.

But there is much more to say about Nixon at the movies, and Mark Feeney not only says it all, he also says much that has not elsewhere been indicated, through allusions to *Beavis and Butt-Head Do America* (1996), *The Big Lebowski* and *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* (both 1998), *Misery* (1990), and *Forrest Gump* (1994). In *Nasty Habits* (1977), the Nixonian character is played by a woman, Glenda Jackson; but Nixon has been addressed by serious male actors as well, such as Rip Torn in *Blind Ambition* (1979), a CBS miniseries; Philip Baker Hall in *Secret Honor*; Anthony Hopkins in *Nixon*; and Dan Hedaya in *Dick* (1999). You pays your money, and you takes your choice.

If you also have a question about what the President watched and when he watched it, then Feeney has a list, and it makes for some interesting reading. Nixon viewed movies in the White House from 1969 through the late summer of 1974, as he was turning everyone else's life into a bad soap opera that was to become a movie itself, *All the President's Men* (the first film Jimmy Carter watched in the White House). The early 70's weren't great movie years (or great anything else years, come to think of it). So the best movies that Nixon watched were old ones from the best years of Hollywood, though he never seemed much to care. The list is suggestive, however, since various films seemed to contain a message for Nixon—messages that were not, apparently, received. *Hard Contract*, *Hamlet*, *The Caine Mutiny*, *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*, and many another movies suggest certain interpretations that might have changed history. But if Nixon missed something here and there, Mark Feeney, expanding our sense of history and culture, has missed nothing.

Contributing editor James O. Tate is a professor of English at Dowling College on Long Island.

Shoddy Goods, Shoddy Selves

by Paul Gottfried

A Matter of Opinion
by Victor S. Navasky
New York: Farrar, Strauss, Giroux; 458 pp., $27.00

◆

Victor Navasky's memoirs, which discuss his longtime relation to the *Nation* and how he came to publish that magazine, create for the reader two misleading impressions before he gets beyond the dust cover. Contrary to the blurbs of Bill Moyers, Barbara Ehrenreich, E.L. Doctorow, and *Kirkus Reviews*, this book is neither "elegant" nor "subversive" nor "entertaining." And George McGovern and I obviously read different texts if, in the news-release blurb, he can assert that Navasky has written an "engrossing work" and that "his literary style is masterful." Navasky's is the dreariest tome I have perused since being forced, as a graduate student, to read Bishop Stubbs on English constitutional history. The writing is self-congratulatory and stylistically minimalist (like Bill Clinton speaking on social programs). There is no opinion given in this book on McCarthyism, fascism, the Religious Right, or Navasky's attempt to steer a middle course between holocaust remembrance and Palestinian claims to statehood that is not predictable and vapidly stated. After a few pages of his colorless prose, Navasky's leftist party line bounced off me like rainwater hitting a tin roof.

In the opening chapters, Navasky dwells on his family's incapacity for business. His father, Macy, loving language, was economically inept—yet, somehow, the son managed to attend New York private schools and, after that, Swarthmore College, before going on to Yale Law School. Navasky's benefactors, he keeps assuring us, cared more about social justice than about climbing the greasy ladder of capitalist success. However, the money never lacked for plush progressive New York schools and for a costly leftist mag, although it is never quite explained how someone who has sacrificed so much for socialism has managed to live so well—with an expensive publication, an apartment in Manhattan, and a weekend getaway in Upstate New York.

Having devoted many paragraphs to caviling at the accusation that Alger Hiss engaged in Soviet espionage (this in the face of the supposedly conclusive Venona decrypts and Allen Weinstein's biography documenting Hiss's activities as a Stalinist spy), Navasky maintains, without proof, that the Moral Majority are "the real anti-Semites." There is reason for this selective nitpicking, however. In Navasky's worldview, which operates in certain sections of Manhattan's Midtown, communist spies never existed, while any organization that opposes the social left is, by definition, "antisemitic."

Indeed, it is impossible to establish a criterion by which any leftist friend of Navasky, or "victim" of a congressional investigation, could have been a communist sympathizer—let alone a Soviet agent. Navasky sees anyone who kept communist friends, joined Soviet-American friendship leagues, and/or was accused of passing secrets to the Soviets as a civil libertarian, American patriot, or idealistic antifascist. The lifelong Soviet apologist Corliss Lamont is hermeneutically transformed into "the progressive philanthropic humanist." Although he does admit that Julius Rosenberg was probably a Soviet agent, Navasky then goes on to stress how pitifully little Julius blabbed to Stalin's henchmen and how Ethel Rosenberg was executed along with her husband for not turning state's evidence against him. I wonder what Navasky or his friends might say about someone who divulged American military secrets to our Nazi enemy in 1942. As in today's multicultural Europe, being an antifascist or having been declared one is the sole justification needed for anyone who fronted for Stalin being awarded a clean bill of health by Victor Navasky.

Navasky also refers on occasion to good "anti-Communists," such as Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., whose major historical

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

achievement was coming to the defense of suspected communists cited before the House Un-American Activities Committee. Although it might be unfair to tar Rauh with a red brush, it is ludicrous to hold him up as an "anti-Communist" for having tried to keep the far left Emergency Civil Liberties Committee from falling directly under Stalinist control. Nor did it occur to Navasky or Rauh that there were documentable communist agents whom the House Committee had good reason to investigate. And if the committee did actually perpetrate civil-rights violations, these continued for years against people who showed insufficient enthusiasm for the crusade against fascism that preceded the one against "godless communism." In this case, it is a question of whose ideological camp is being put under government scrutiny.

The only benefit I have been able to extract from this otherwise tedious printed matter is the confirmation of something I had long suspected: namely, that close ties exist among members of the New York magazine community. For those *Plattländer* in Gary or Des Moines who believe that all successful scribblers in New York must be thick with one another, there is more than enough on these pages to prove them right. Moreover, the social contacts one discovers in Navasky's book cross ideological lines. Despite the *Nation*'s publication of Gore Vidal's attacks on Midge Decter and Norman Podhoretz, Navasky dwells on the fact that the ensuing fireworks damaged his friendship with his two longtime New York acquaintances. Vidal had taken to task those whose company Navasky apparently valued. Reading his account, it seems that balancing social relations may have been, for him, a more important activity even than shielding communists.

Navasky also tells of hosting get-togethers with the staff of *National Review* and the *New Republic* and rejoices at the common ground he shares with their editors. It is enlightening how conciliatory *National Review* editor Rich Lowry became when Navasky invited him to speak to his class at Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism. Lowry fell over himself comparing their two magazines, which (he alleged) "exist to make a point rather than a profit" and are "fighting for ideas that are out of favor." (Note that Lowry was courting someone who had devoted his career to defending communists and communist fellow travelers and who had invariably opposed Western resistance to Soviet expansion.) As for Navasky, he returned the kindness by contrasting Lowry to those reactionaries who are addicted to "spewing right-wing propaganda."

Certain questions occurred to me as I contemplated this lovefest. Would Lowry reach out to a paleoconservative magazine editor in the way that he did to his Stalinoid host? Why is he so much more indulgent of the *Nation* than he is of the "unpatriotic right" that David Frum savaged in his *National Review*? Are anticommunist paleoconservatives who protest against a global-democratic foreign policy less socially acceptable than American opponents of the Western side in the Cold War? The answer to the last question—and at least indirectly to the others—may be: It depends. It depends on who can advance the careers of aspiring magazine employees located in New York City. No matter how these careerists work to differentiate their products, they are selling similar merchandise. Above all, they are selling themselves.

Contributing editor Paul Gottfried is the author of Multiculturalism and the Politics of Guilt.

THE ROCKFORD INSTITUTE ACADEMY'S

Introductory Latin

DISTANCE-LEARNING COURSE

Learn Latin using the same method used by St. Thomas Aquinas and Thomas Jefferson. Enjoy a live classroom experience in the comfort of your own home. Learn at your own pace.

The first semester comprises 20 lectures on audiocassette or CD, with an accompanying study guide and test materials.

Order the first semester now!

The course is taught by Dr. Thomas Fleming, who holds a Ph.D. in classics from the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and has over 25 years experience teaching Latin.

THE ROCKFORD INSTITUTE
928 North Main Street
Rockford, Illinois 61103

- send check or money order to 928 N. Main Street, Rockford, IL 61103
- call (800) 383-0680 to order with MasterCard, Visa, Amex, Discover
- purchase online at the webstore on *ChroniclesMagazine.org*

First Semester Prices

$175.00 for tapes
$200.00 for CD's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letter From Paris

by Curtis Cate

A Hydra With Two Heads

◆

On Tuesday, May 31, just two days after a decisive 55-percent majority of French voters had rejected the treaty proposal for a constitution for Europe, simultaneously destroying the president's waning prestige and the fragile unity of France's Socialist Party, Jacques Chirac staggered his supporters and detractors by pulling an extraordinary two-eared hybrid from his conjuror's top hat.

The new prime minister, chosen to replace the patient, plodding, patently uninspired and uninspiring Jean-Pierre Raffarin, would be the president's faithful supporter and former *chef de cabinet*—the brilliantly articulate, impetuous, and fiery Dominique de Villepin; and his senior colleague in the government, publicly elevated to the rank of minister of state and appointed minister of the interior, would be their principal *bête noire* and unruly problem child, Nicolas Sarkozy.

Not surprisingly, this astonishing feat of political legerdemain left most French men and women skeptical rather than impressed—and not simply among Socialists and other "leftists" naturally opposed to a supposedly "right-wing" government. François Bayrou, a former minister of Education who heads a "centrist" party that has always been emphatically pro-European and, for that very reason, often anti-Gaullist, flatly refused to endorse this "baroque" solution by joining a "government of national salvation," which, he predicted, would be unwilling to undertake the "fundamental reforms" that were needed. Many members of the UMP—the *Union pour un Mouvement populaire*, which had been specially created three years ago to provide Jacques Chirac with a reliable parliamentary majority—pleaded with their new boss, Nicolas Sarkozy, not to join a monstrously misshapen government (a request shrewdly rejected by Sarkozy on the grounds that France's situation was now so dire that he had to put duty first and act "responsibly"). In the weekly *Le Point*, Catherine Pégard, its leading feminine journalist, quoted the somber prediction made by one of the French president's close friends that "it will be a slow death. Chirac will not be able to recover." For his part, Denis Jeambar, the caustic editor in chief of the weekly *L'Express*, who has long deplored the sordid infighting of rivals interested above all in the furtherance of their personal ambitions, foresaw the possibility that the "flamboyance" of the new prime minister might set all of France ablaze, with catastrophic consequences. "A rough task, indeed," he noted, "for this new government resembles a swamp-water of crocodiles . . . Hypocrisy oozes from this government's every pore." More succinct was the verdict of a provincial editorialist, who wrote that what Chirac had fashioned was a "hydra with two heads."

For Chirac, the inclusion of Sarkozy was an unprecedented admission of weakness. Last November, the French president had sought to clip the wings of this brash "upstart" by informing him that he could not simultaneously hold two positions—that of cabinet minister and that of head of the UMP. With a sure instinct for success, Sarkozy chose to relinquish an increasingly penniless Ministry of Economy and Finance—with little doubt the hottest potato a French cabinet minister today can be asked to handle—and to devote himself to building up a glaringly weak "presidential" party, which, in March of last year, at the time of the parliamentary elections in Spain, had one fifth as many members as José María Aznar's *Partido Popular* (120,000, compared with 600,000 beyond the Pyrenees). After the electoral debacle of the rashly chosen referendum, however, a crestfallen Chirac was forced to eat humble pie. Sarkozy was appointed minister of the interior, while retaining his powerful position as the triumphantly elected president of the UMP. Not satisfied with these two victories, the 50-year-old *enfant terrible* of French politics made it clear to his supporters in the "majority" party and to his foes in the Elysée Palace that he was going to retain his *franc parler*, his untrammeled freedom to express flagrantly "dissident" opinions at variance with those of Jacques Chirac (such as his opposition to Turkey's political admission to the European Union).

While Nicolas Sarkozy's extraordinary dynamism, well advertised during his previous terms of office at the Ministry of the Interior (May 2002 to March 2004) and at the Ministry of Economy and Finance (March 2004 to November 2004), has helped to make him the most popular politician in France, his seemingly tireless energy is only part of the secret of his phenomenal success. Equally impressive has been his incisive manner of speech—clear, precise, and devoid of the rhetorical ambiguities indulged in by Jacques Chirac and so many other supposedly right-wing politicians. A few weeks before the decisive referendum vote of May 29, a journalist, who clearly wished to embarrass him during a TV debate, asked Sarkozy in typically devious terms what his intentions were for the French presidential elections scheduled for 2007. In other words, was he prepared to run as a candidate against Jacques Chirac? "You want a frank answer? . . . Yes!" was Nicolas Sarkozy's prompt reply.

During a pro-European constitution speech delivered three days before the climactic vote of May 29, Nicolas Sarkozy openly proclaimed his scorn for those who "have never had to face the test of an election." The barb was clearly aimed at Dominique de Villepin, who, as later became clear, was suspected of having allowed at least one of his subordinates at the Ministry of the Interior to tip off members of the press about the increasingly strained relations between Nicolas Sarkozy and his wife, Cecilia. True or not, Sarkozy's revenge was typically swift. A senior Ministry of the Interior prefect, suspected of having participated in the "plot," was summarily dismissed.

That Jacques Chirac should have chosen to replace an old political workhorse such as Jean-Pierre Raffarin with an aristocratic thoroughbred totally lacking in electoral experience such as Dominique de Villepin revealed how rattled he was by the referendum debacle of May 29. Nothing remotely comparable has been seen in the history of the Fifth Republic since the year 1962, when Charles de Gaulle chose to replace his devoted prime minister, Michel Debré (who had fallen out of favor because of his nostalgic pro-*Algérie française* sentiments) with his erudite *chef de cabinet*, Georges Pompidou. Six years later, angered by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the student riots of May 1968—which his prime minister, he felt, had not properly handled—De Gaulle fired Pompidou. But one year later, it was the haughty ex-general who bit the dust, when he rashly staged a referendum designed to do away with the conservative French Senate, and it was Pompidou who was chosen by French voters to succeed him—with, it is interesting to note, the help of a brilliant young "egghead" named Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.

The question now exercising the imagination of many French observers is whether history is going to repeat itself with some new caricaturist twist. Now that Chirac knows that his chances of being reelected for a third term in 2007 have been shattered—within a week of the May 29 *tsunami*, his popularity rating in several public opinion polls had slumped to an unprecedented nadir of 27 percent—all his hopes are concentrated on his designated "savior" and (he hopes) eventual successor, Dominique de Villepin. Likewise an erudite phenomenon (who devotes an hour or more of each day to writing poetry or prose), Dominique de Villepin, however, lacks the banking experience that permitted Georges Pompidou to navigate successfully for close to five years and to be succeeded by his brilliant minister of Economy and Finance, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.

The situation today, of course, is radically different from what it was in the 1970's, when unemployment in France was virtually nonexistent; today, it exceeds ten percent of the country's working population. The figure of 2.5 million unemployed is bad enough, but it is even more shocking when juxtaposed with the figure of 500,000 vacant jobs for which no applicants can be found. When, in a moment of rhetorical dementia on behalf of the "no" vote during the referendum campaign, Laurent Fabius, the former Socialist prime minister, warned that France was likely to be inundated by a torrent of "Polish plumbers," the sober truth was that most plumbers, at any rate in Paris, are now either Portuguese or Spanish. Polish plumbers would be more than welcome, for young Frenchmen today have no desire to dirty their hands with such menial tasks. "What they all want," one now often hears it said, "is to be lawyers, computer specialists, or doctors." (Even in the medical profession, the distaste for exacting manual labor is such that there is a severe dearth of young students willing to become surgeons. The average age of French surgeons is an alarming 57 years, and already one third of all surgeons in the country are immigrants from other lands.)

Years ago, in 1967, an ANPE (Agence Nationale pour l'Emploi) was set up to help unemployed Frenchmen and women find jobs—but not just any old job! No, with the passage of the years, it was taken for granted that it had to be a job with a built-in guaranty of tenure, with no risk of being fired for one reason or another. To guarantee against such dangerous "precarity"—the new left-wing stigma, which has joined the "liberal" so disgracefully manhandled by Jacques Chirac (as "worse than Communism") during the referendum campaign—there was elaborated a detailed *Code du Travail*, which, thanks to years of Socialist misrule and "rightist" capitulations before the threat of massive strikes, has acquired the force of a taboo, of an untouchable, of a sacred cow. Incredible as it may sound to someone who is not French, this work code contains more than 2,000 articles and no fewer than 30 pages devoted to the hiring and firing of workers.

An exclusive resort to the carrot, combined with a total avoidance of the stick, has encouraged an inevitable sloth. Why, after all, should those who are unemployed bother to work when they can survive on a monthly subsistence allowance that is so close to the minimum wage that it acts as a disincentive? Not so long ago, a frustrated ANPE inspector who, over a period of three years, had offered an applicant 19 different jobs, each of which had been disdainfully refused, casually wrote *fainéant* under the 19th entry. When the same "loafer" turned up for a 20th interview and happened to spot the insulting comment, he sued the inspector for defamation of character—in a judicial case that made the headlines as a deplorable example of administrative "prejudice."

Such are the massive psychosocial problems now confronting Jacques Chirac's newly found silver-haired "magician"—the 51-year-old Dominique de Villepin. Just how this gamble, the most desperate of his career, will succeed or fail is anything but clear. One thing, at any rate, is certain. More than poetic verve will be needed to dissuade Villepin's left-wing adversaries, and, in particular, the reactionary diehards of France's relatively weak but singularly aggressive labor unions, from "descending into the street" to combat the slightest sign of "anti-working-class provocation"—the first

Elizabeth Wolf

and foremost of such "provocations" being any serious attempt to reform a paralyzing work code.

Curtis Cate is the author of four biographies, the latest devoted to Friedrich Nietzsche.

Letter From Washington, D.C.

by Don Barnett

Faith-Based Immigration

◆

Attempting to make dinner conversation at a May 2004 refugee contractors' conference, I speculated about the chances of Serbs, now hounded and persecuted in Kosovo, coming to America on the U.S. refugee program. In the last ten years, the percentage of Serbs in the Serbian province of Kosovo has declined from over ten percent to three percent and is still dropping. My interlocutor, an Albanian from Kosovo, answered, "We don't want them here. Besides, soon there will be no Serbs left in Kosovo to resettle." At this, the entire table of "refugee workers"—all from "faith-based" agencies—roared with laughter.

Welcome to Washington and the tenth annual African refugee conference!

Currently, less than one half of one percent of the world's officially recognized refugees have a chance at resettlement in the West. Even during times of relatively low refugee admission rates, such as the

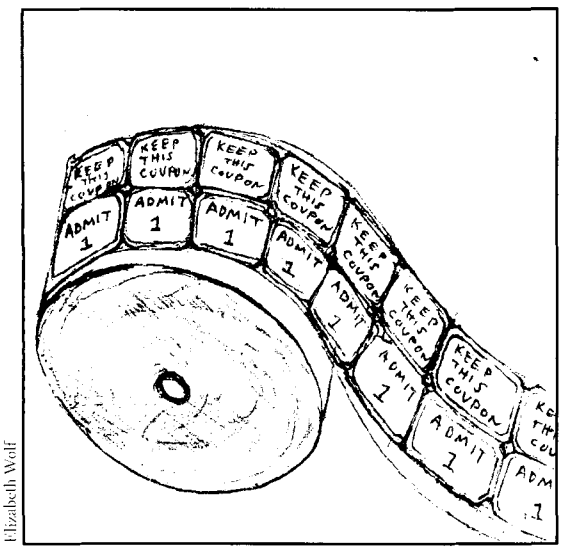
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

last three years, the United States resettled more than the rest of the entire developed world combined. About 70,000 refugees will arrive in 2005. Roughly another 70,000 will come in as asylum-seekers and "Cuban/Haitian entrants." All Cubans and about one third of the non-Cubans will receive asylum, gaining all the rights and entitlements of refugees. (Most of those whose asylum bids fail will remain in the country anyway.)

It is at Washington, D.C., conferences such as this that NGO's with federal and state contracts learn about the latest government programs for refugees and asylum seekers. The audience of contracting agencies, which are now mostly staffed and increasingly owned and operated by recent immigrants, has also come to provide ideas for future directions of the U.S. refugee program and to press for more and larger programs.

Speaking for the U.S. government were officials from the State Department, the Department of Health and Human Services, and the Department of Homeland Security—principal deputy assistant secretaries, deputy assistant secretaries, office directors, and the like (even someone with the title "Special Advisor to the President, Crisis Group"). U.N. officials, parliamentarians, and embassy staffers from Kenya, Zambia, and Uganda; employees of Oxfam and Amnesty International; and a member of the Council of Foreign Relations also had presentations.

Among the audience and presenters were social workers and immigration lawyers with services to sell, such as the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights. The committee recently renamed itself Human Rights First. No doubt, market research indicated the term *lawyer* was getting in the way of the organization's message.



Elizabeth Wolf

One can still get a lot of mileage out of the terms *refugee* and *asylum seeker*, however. Apparently, little more than letterhead is needed to start bringing in federal dollars as long as the name on the letterhead contains the word *refugee*. An NGO nation has grown up around refugee resettlement to the United States. Like a shallow-rooted plant, it flourishes and spreads quickly, replacing organic civic society. It would wither and die without continual government aid, but it is particularly well suited to ensure continuance of that government aid and its own survival.

Many American cities have Estonia Houses, Baltic Associations, Hungarian clubs, and other ethnic-based mutual-assistance organizations dating back to the era when sponsors were required to provide housing and jobs for incoming refugees. Then, refugees were legally barred from accessing any form of public assistance. Today, of course, refugees, successful asylum-seekers, "Cuban/Haitian entrants," victims of trafficking, unaccompanied minors, and immigrants with "violence against women" status are immediately eligible for all sorts of public assistance as well as a host of special programs ranging from federal "micro loans" to in-kind donations which generate profits for the NGO's that give them away.

Today, if someone were to found an Estonia House, he would first come to Washington and register as an ethnic community-based organization. (The government term is ethnic CBO.) He would then attend conferences such as this to learn how to tap into poverty programs and land federal contracts providing services for the "underserved."

At previous conferences, one of the topics was how to get tobacco settlement money. (When not learning how to get "smoking cessation" grant money, conferees listened to speeches in which America was denounced for profiting from "global apartheid" and American immigration laws were likened to South African pass laws.) This year, conferees learned that USDA money for "low-income minority farmers" is available to new arrivals. There are grants from the Office of Crime Victims, money from "ownership society" initiatives such as Individual Development Accounts, and even EPA grants to allow refugee seniors to carry out "public education" about the environment. As one presenter counseled: *Read the Federal Register every day, and be the first to hear about the latest grant*! I wonder if the authors of federal grant programs realize how many of their programs' beneficiaries have yet to arrive in the United States?

Chris Gersten, principal deputy assistant secretary for children and families in the Administration for Children and Families, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, stated that the federal government "gave away millions" to organizations like those at the conference for services to "trafficking victims"—but couldn't find the victims. "Now we are giving out money to publicize the program and find the victims," he announced. He could have added that broadly written regulations implementing the "Trafficking and Violence Protection Act" have made it easier to find victims. In fact, there is hardly a distinction between a smuggled illegal alien and a "trafficked" illegal alien.

We learn that "marriage money," flowing to the refugee industry since the Clinton administration, just got better under President Bush's latest marriage initiative. A breakout session was devoted to getting grant money for marriages, an institution the new arrivals are helping to redefine. At an earlier federal-contractor meeting I attended, a State Department official uncharacteristically reached the point of exasperation when told that America was not committed to diversity because it outlawed polygamy. The official had the temerity to remind her listeners, who had loudly cheered the antidiversity charge, that they had moved to the West, and the West works differently from the countries they voluntarily left behind.

Federal Office of Refugee Resettlement Director Nguyen Van Hanh, himself a refugee, stated at this year's conference that U.S. laws protecting women are undermining refugee marriages. But then, there are advantages in qualifying for "marriage initiative" money. Conceding that ethnic tensions are rising where refugees are settling, the ORR director promised more money for "public education" and more "faith-based initiative" money to neighborhood churches so that they will go along willingly with the resettlement of refugees in their neighborhoods.

Ironically, many of the organizations attending conferences such as this achieved their full growth during the mid-90's when the states were looking for ways to get immigrants, who had been cut from some federal welfare programs

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by the 1996 welfare-reform law, back into the system. It turns out that citizenship is the quickest and most cost-effective tool of the multifaceted and still ongoing campaign known as "fix '96." The New Jersey Citizenship Campaign is typical of these government-initiated "grassroots" campaigns, described in a May 2005 National Conference of State Legislatures report as a

> collaborative partnership of [20] community-based organizations and state and federal agencies. . . . The campaign originally targeted [for citizenship] low-income, elderly and disabled lawful permanent residents and those eligible for New Jersey's State Food Stamp Program.

Most of the CBO's are still around, now lobbying for "reform of federal immigration law" and looking for the "underserved" and ways to serve them.

The taxpayer can rest assured that tax dollars for ethnic CBO's are not supporting ethnic political causes; government regulations carefully channel the stream of grant money with such self-revelatory dictates as

> Funds will not be awarded to applicants for the purpose of engaging in activities of a distinctly political nature, activities designed exclusively to promote the preservation of a specific cultural heritage, or activities with an international objective (i.e., activities related to events in the refugees' country of origin).

For those who worry that the money that pours into the NGO's will be used to lobby for . . . well . . . more money for the NGO's comes this not-so-reassuring assurance from the largest NGO in the refugee-resettlement business, the U.S. Catholic Conference of Bishops:

> USCCB assures by documented certification to any federal funding agency with which we have contractual relationships that no federal appropriated funds will be paid to staff for influencing or attempting to influence the making of any Federal grant to include extensions, continuations, renewals, amendments or modification of any Federal contract, grant, loan or cooperative agreement. Therefore, it is important that diocesan administrators understand that salary or wages paid for time spent advocating with congressional representatives for federal appropriations to support refugee admissions and domestic services should be charged to diocesan funding sources other than those awarded from federal grants, including funds passed through by USCCB, i.e., R&P, Cuban/Haitian, Match Grant, INS children's programs or any other government-supported refugee programs and services.

In other words, you can't take money from, say, the Healthy Marriage Initiative and use it to lobby Congress for more and larger grant programs. But why would you need to use government money for lobbying? That's what the Sunday collection is for. With the government funding your social vision, congregational donations—*i.e.*, "diocesan funding sources other than those awarded from federal grants"—can be and are used to lobby for more government programs.

In all the shouting and fury over the Bush administration's 2006 budget cuts, refugee-related budgetary increases have received little notice. The State Department's refugee-admissions budget is up by 17 percent, and the budget for the Department of Health and Human Services refugee programs is up by 14 percent.

As grant-getting entities, the ethnic CBO's, voluntary agencies, and mutual-assistance associations involved in refugee resettlement are probably the largest unexamined federal contracting business in the United States. Don't expect an examination of this program anytime soon, however. The Bush administration sees nothing but good things coming from it: good publicity from a befogged media, a boon for its faith-based domestic constituents, and an international goodwill initiative all rolled into one package—plus, new brigades for the "reserve army of the unemployed" so necessary to the growing low-wage, no-benefits, temp-worker economy.

The Bush administration is advocating for ever-higher numbers of refugee admissions, and a recent report commissioned by the State Department ("The United States Refugee Admissions Program: Reforms for a New Era of Refugee Resettlement," by David Martin) calls for a "sense of mission about adding one or two new [refugee] groups to the [U.S. refugee] pipeline development process *each month*" (emphasis added).

Under this proposal, refugee contractors, whose pay is directly tied to the number of refugees admitted, will be given more say in policy questions such as who gains the coveted refugee designation.

It will be interesting to see the recommendations of my jolly tablemates.

Don Barnett is a fellow at the Center for Immigration Studies in Washington, D.C.

LIBERAL ARTS

WMDDD'S

"A dozen anti-war activists from Mendocino County took their tops off at high noon in San Francisco's Union Square shopping district Thursday, using what they said was their best weapon to get the public's attention. . . .

"Members of the Breasts Not Bombs contingent, which included seven women, three men and two young girls, said the war in Iraq is indecent, not their nakedness.

"'Boobies never hurt anyone,' said Sherry Glaser, size 40DDD.

"After more than two years of opposition to the war, protesters are having a hard time grabbing headlines, said Sheba Love, size 40D. . . .

"'Hey! Explain this to me!' said an agog visitor from Florida, approaching San Francisco police Sgt. Carl T., who was assigned to keep an eye on the crowd and who really has only a letter for a last name.

"Technically, the sergeant explained, nudity can be considered misdemeanor indecent exposure if the person in their birthday suit has an intention to titillate. Because the protest is political, not sensual or lewd, it really doesn't count, he said."

—*from an article by Meredith May,* San Francisco Chronicle *(July 1)*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by Srdja Trifkovic

Getting China Straight

The challenge that the rise of China presents to the United States is more pressing than any other global issue except for the ever-present threat of *jihad*. Beijing is rapidly becoming a regional power of the first order, the Asian hegemon that will need to be contained, confronted, or, in some way, appeased. Its ruling party still calls itself "communist," but the ethos of the *nomenklatura* is eminently traditional: nationalist, xenophobic, authoritarian, and self-serving. The notion of an "international community" is treated in Beijing with studied derision, as a tool of furthering the *sacro egoismo* that is and has been China's guiding light in foreign affairs for over two millennia.

Addressing a regional security conference in Singapore last June, Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld said that China's military buildup—and especially her deployment of hundreds of missiles along the Straits of Taiwan—is a threat to Asian security. He criticized Beijing for having the world's third-largest military budget (behind the United States and Russia) and for buying sophisticated weaponry abroad. "Since no nation threatens China, one must wonder: Why this growing investment?" Rumsfeld said. "Why these continuing large and expanding arms purchases?" He also questioned China's internal policies, pointing out that political freedom has not kept pace with economic freedom: "Ultimately, China will need to embrace some form of a more open and representative government if it is to fully [*sic*] achieve the political and economic benefits to which its people aspire."

The director of the Asia bureau of China's foreign ministry, Cui Tiankai, who attended the conference, reacted strongly:

> Since the U.S. is spending a lot more money than China is doing on defense, the U.S. should understand that every country has its own security concerns and every country is entitled to spend money necessary for its own defense.

"Do you truly believe that China is under no threat by other countries?" Cui asked. "Do you truly believe that the U.S. is threatened by the emergence of China?"

The elephant in the room was the future status of Taiwan, a self-governing island that still formally goes by the name of the "Republic of China," although many of her inhabitants would prefer to sever all links with the mainland and become an independent state. China says that she will not allow that to happen. Earlier this year, China reiterated her intention to intervene militarily if Taiwan tries to declare independence. On this issue, the leadership in Beijing counts on the nationalist sentiment of China's 1.2 billion people, which transcends ideology. With the demise of Maoism, Han nationalism is the only ideological cement that binds the nation under Communist Party rule, granting it legitimacy. Nurtured by the collective memory of invasions and massacres in the late-19th and the first half of the 20th century, it is a potent force. Taiwan epitomizes the legacy of past shame and humiliation. She was taken by force by Japan and ruled as a colony for 50 years (1895-1945). To condone her separation, under whatever name, would be tantamount to accepting the status of a second-class power. Furthermore, a soft line on Taiwan would have serious implications for the future status of Tibet and—even more significantly—for the restive Muslim-populated Sinkiang-Uigur province in the far west of the country.

The choice facing the United States is difficult but fairly clear. China is an ancient power, coldly hostile to outsiders, steeped in *Realpolitik*, and indifferent to the notion that diplomacy is or should be guided by any motive other than self-interest. If she is to be treated as a rival and potential enemy, it is necessary to halt further American investment in the Chinese economy, to reverse our massive outsourcing effort, and to erect effective trade barriers against the continuing deluge of Chinese-made consumer products in American stores. It is also necessary to provide Taiwan—and Japan, and South Korea—with top-notch defensive arsenals, including nuclear weapons. Japan will need to become a regional military power, contrary to her current constitution and to the wishes of several countries in the region that had experienced the fruits of Japanese expansionism in the first half of the 20th century.

The geopolitical equation of containing and confronting China also demands an alliance, informal or otherwise, between the United States and India, which is, in the long term, China's sole natural rival in Asia. The forging of a special relationship with Delhi is long overdue, quite apart from our relations with Beijing—India is an incomprehensibly neglected ally in the "War on Terror"—but no such relationship can be established as long as Pakistan continues to be perceived by the decisionmaking community in Washington as an essential ally. The regime of General Musharraf is unreliable. It is guilty of nuclear proliferation; its military establishment is hedging its bets between Washington and Muslim extremists; and its entire ethos remains steeped in the ideology of *jihad*.

If the Bush administration is not willing to apply these measures, the alternative is to accept the rise of China as a first-order power, and to do so with the best possible grace. A reigning power is naturally disinclined to look on benignly as another rises, but the middle road would be based on the notion that a conflict between America and China is not inevitable. The relationship will need to be managed skillfully—with more reciprocity in the field of trade and exchange rates—but its essential ingredient will be to accept that Taiwan is part of China, that she will eventually be reintegrated (preferably with all kinds of safeguards and special-status provisions), and that it is in the American interest to facilitate peaceful reunification.

The cue was provided by two Taiwanese opposition leaders, Lien Chan and James Soong Chu-yu, who visited Beijing

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in May. The *People's Daily* subsequently praised the Kuomintang (KMT)—the pro-unification party of the late Chiang Kai-shek—for its efforts to develop "trust and confidence" with the ruling Communist Party of China (CPC). A sober assessment was provided by the independent *South China Morning Post*, which praised Mr. Chen as Taiwan's Richard Nixon:

> Both sides recognize that unification, if it were to happen, would only take place in the very distant future. What needs doing now is to create conditions under which peace can be perpetuated, perhaps for as long as two generations. At the end of that period, who knows what the world will be like? If the leaders of this generation have the wisdom to agree on peace for a few decades, future leaders will hopefully [*sic*] have the wisdom to prolong or even perpetuate that peace.

Hope should not prevail over experience, but China is in no hurry. She is the fastest growing among the world's major economies, and, on a *per capita* basis, her growth over the past decade was among the highest in the world. She has been successfully transformed from a poor agricultural economy into a global manufacturing base. The Communist Party has managed to preserve its monopoly on political power, but its rule fits in with the country's authoritarian tradition, which harks back to the first emperor. The result is a variety of *authoritarian capitalism*—successfully tested decades ago in Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore—under which a selective degree of economic freedom and private-property rights is combined with unyielding control over political life by the ruling establishment. The CPC—devoid of Marxist ideological zeal or any serious attempt to indoctrinate "the masses"—provides conditions for a liberal capitalist economy but does not allow its monopoly of power to be challenged. Its bottom-up approach to economic reform proved to be vastly more successful than the Soviet Union's top-down shake-up of *perestroika*. The crisis of Tiananmen Square proved temporary; 16 years later, China's *nouveau riche* businessmen calmly comment that "democracy should not get in the way of making money." The tension between modernizing reformists and the Maoist old guard that characterized Deng's early years in power is gone.

Secretary Rumsfeld's comment that political freedom has not kept pace with increasing economic freedom in China is correct, but it is unlikely to find much resonance in the Middle Kingdom. Harnessing market-based development to one-party control worked very well in Spain under Franco, in Chile under Pinochet, in South Korea during many of her boom years, and—perhaps most pertinently—in Taiwan under Chiang Kai-shek and his successors. By the early 1960's, Chiang's KMT had ceased to be a Leninist party, just as the Chinese Communist Party is no longer "Marxist-Leninist." "Political freedom" is secondary to the imperatives of stability, prosperity, and continuity.

Chiang's KMT did not conceive of itself as representing the interest of any particular class and sought to represent the nation as a whole, just as the CPC today neglects the "proletariat" while wooing the capitalists into its ranks. Both realize that a vibrant private sector is the key to prosperity. If the Communist Party of China continues to transform itself into a Red Kuomintang, a guided democracy will eventually emerge, social disparities will become less glaring, and economic growth will continue on a stable footing. In that case, a peaceful reunification of the mainland and Taiwan will be only a matter of time.

Given China's phenomenal growth, what will be her role in the world in the future? By 2025, she will be a great power of the first order. Her population will reach 1.5 billion, her GDP will be in the seven-trillion-dollar range—on par with that of the United States or the European Union a decade ago—and she will have access to the most advanced technologies. In foreign affairs, her leaders will continue to attach little importance to international organizations and alliances, trusting China's wealth and power as a means of achieving diplomatic objectives and treating a strong defense as an outgrowth of a strong economy.

China's wealth and power will make her the dominant power in Asia, and the countries of the region will be hard pressed to negotiate the terms and conditions of an acceptable relationship with Beijing that would fall short of China's outright hegemony. The country's growing energy needs, impossible to satisfy from her limited domestic resources, will turn her into a player of growing importance on the international stage. Her leaders see access to the reserves of oil and natural gas in Central Asia as a cornerstone of their economic policy for the next two decades. They also may harbor long-term geopolitical designs in Siberia, which is underpopulated and rich in energy and minerals. If, on the other hand, China opts for a cooperative relationship with Russia, their partnership could reshape the Asian architecture and turn China into a distribution hub for oil and gas exports to South Korea and Japan, two of the largest energy-importing states in the world. This, in turn, might result in Japan's strategic realignment. Ikuro Sugawara, an analyst with the Japan National Oil Corporation, warns that "Japan, which is an integral part of the Asian market and is as dependent as its neighbors on the Middle East for oil, will not be able to follow the US line as closely as it has in the past."

None of these long-term objectives and policies likely to be pursued by Beijing are necessarily detrimental to the interests of the United States, provided that China is content with the status of a regional Asian power. Her stake in the Panama Canal may provide a handy litmus test. If she cooperates, the underlying premise of Rumsfeld's address—that *any* change of the *status quo* in Asia is detrimental to American interests—may need to be reexamined.

As China continues to transform herself into a global economic power, her interests, security concerns, and aspirations will be asserted with ever-greater self-confidence. The task of U.S. policy in East Asia should be to consider whether, and to what extent, those aspirations are compatible with American interests. Contemplating the possibility of a consensual, carefully managed, and internationally condoned reunification of China with Taiwan would be a constructive first step.

Read
Srdja Trifkovic's
News & Views
at
www.ChroniclesMagazine.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE CONSTITUTION

Raiching the Constitution Over the Coals

by William J. Watkins, Jr.

The Supreme Court is often described as the final redoubt of states' rights. In the last decade, we have heard much about the Court's "New Federalism" jurisprudence. The Court, we have been warned, is seeking to return the Constitution to the horse-and-buggy days of yesteryear. Legal oracles such as the *New York Times*' Linda Greenhouse and Harvard's Laurence Tribe fret about a return to the enervated Articles of Confederation or "antebellum jurisprudence." A typical Greenhouse column leaves me with the impression that John C. Calhoun sits on the Supreme Court and that Congress is precluded from governing effectively.

This, of course, is rubbish. And the Supreme Court proved it on June 6 with its decision in *Gonzales* v. *Raich*. In this landmark Commerce Clause case, the Court affirmed that Congress' power to regulate local, *intra*state matters is boundless. As Justice Sandra Day O'Connor noted in dissent, the *Raich* decision "threatens to sweep all productive human activity into the federal regulatory reach." New Federalism was but a bugbear.

The question presented in *Raich* was whether Congress may prohibit the medicinal use of cannabis *via* the federal Controlled Substances Act—even if the cannabis at issue is grown using only soil, water, nutrients, tools, and supplies made or originating in a single state, never crosses state lines, and never is sold in the stream of commerce.

The *Raich* case arose out of California, which passed its Compassionate Use Act in 1996, under which a patient or his primary caregiver may possess or cultivate cannabis solely for the personal medicinal use of the patient, as recommended by a physician. Pursuant to state law, Angel Raich and Diane Monson used cannabis for medicinal purposes. Raich suffers from an inoperable brain tumor, seizures, paralysis, chronic pain, life-threatening weight loss, and many other ailments. Monson is afflicted with chronic back pain and muscle spasms caused by a degenerative disease of the spine. Their physicians concluded that Raich's and Monson's pain could not be relieved with ordinary medication and prescribed marijuana.

The cannabis prescribed has been beneficial for both women. Raich, for example, was once confined to a wheelchair; now, she is able to walk. She has also been able to maintain her weight because of the increase in appetite triggered by the cannabis

Despite Raich's and Monson's compliance with California law, in 2002, federal drug-enforcement agents besieged Monson's home. A three-hour standoff ended in the agents confiscating and destroying all six of her cannabis plants. The federal Controlled Substances Act trumped the state Compassionate Use Act.

Denying the constitutionality of the federal law as applied to them, Raich and Monson headed to the courts. A U.S. district court denied relief, but the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed, holding that the women demonstrated a strong likelihood that the Controlled Substances Act as applied to them was an unconstitutional exercise of federal power. Federal officials were prohibited by an injunction from interfering with the women's use of cannabis for medicinal purposes. The federal government then appealed to the Supreme Court.

The Commerce Clause, in pertinent part, provides that Congress has the authority "[t]o regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes." By "commerce," the Framers meant "[i]ntercourse, exchange of one thing for another, interchange of anything; trade; traffick." (See Samuel Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language, 3d ed., 1765.) It was not a synonym for "economic activity" or "agriculture."

With the inclusion of the Commerce Clause in the Constitution, the Framers did not contemplate restrictions on cannabis or any other homegrown crop. Rather, the purpose behind the regulation of interstate commerce was the creation of a free-trade zone within the United States. Alexander Hamilton predicted, in *Federalist* 11, that an "unrestrained intercourse between the States themselves will advance the trade of each by an interchange of their respective productions." Picking up on the theme in *Federalist* 42, James Madison noted that the main purpose of the Commerce Clause "was the relief of the States which import and export through other States, from improper contributions levied on them by the latter." A union without internal trade barriers, the Framers reasoned, would permit the states to take advantage of division of labor and relieve tensions.

In response to Antifederalist fears that the Commerce Clause would permit the federal government to interfere with local, intrastate matters, Hamilton specifically noted in *Federalist* 17 that the clause would have no effect on "the administration of private justice . . . , the supervision of agriculture and of other concerns of a similar nature." Thus, the cultivation of six cannabis plants for personal medicinal use would seem to be beyond the reach of Congress.

Leaving the world of original intent, a pure textualist approach yields the same result. "Agriculture" or "economic activity" cannot be read into "commerce." As Richard Epstein has observed, logic dictates that "commerce" means the same thing in relation to the several states, foreign nations, and Indians. The clause would make no sense if we substituted the word *agriculture* for *commerce*: Congress shall have the power "[t]o regulate agriculture with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes." Obviously, Congress cannot regulate the crops grown in foreign countries or in Indian territory. It naturally follows that Congress cannot regulate the agriculture in the several states, either. But Congress can regulate the interstate traffic in agricultural commodities or the importation of such commodities from foreign countries. This would be consistent with Dr. Johnson's definition of *commerce* as intercourse and Madison's and Hamilton's emphasis on goods crossing state borders.

The understanding of commerce as trade is also made clear by another mention of commerce in Article I. Under Section 9, "[n]o Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Rev-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

enue to Ports of one State over those of another." This provision prohibits Congress from favoring, for example, the port of Boston over the port of Charleston. The mention of "commerce" in connection with ports indicates that the Framers had in mind the traffic of goods. Here, as well, it would make no sense to substitute *agriculture* for *commerce*: "No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Agriculture or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another."

Early Supreme Court precedent supported such a limited definition of *commerce*. For example, in *Gibbons* v. *Ogden* (the famous steamboat case), Chief Justice John Marshall denied that Congress could regulate "that commerce . . . which is completely internal" to a state. Using state inspection laws as an example, Marshall observed that the object of such laws

> is to improve the quality of articles produced by the labour of a country; to fit them for exportation or, may be, for domestic use. They act upon a subject before it becomes an article of foreign commerce, or of commerce among the States, and prepare it for that purpose.

To Marshall, events occurring before goods were shipped across state lines did not qualify as commerce, subject to congressional regulation.

Over time, various Court decisions expanded the definition of commerce. But the genie did not escape the bottle until 1942, when the Supreme Court considered the constitutionality of FDR's Agricultural Adjustment Act. In *Wickard* v. *Filburn*, the Court was presented with the question of whether Congress could regulate a farmer's growing of wheat intended solely for consumption on his farm. A local activity, explained the Court, can "be reached by Congress if it exerts a substantial economic effect on interstate commerce." Although the 11.9 acres of wheat in question did not seem to affect interstate commerce, the Court reasoned that the farmer's wheat, "taken together with that of many others similarly situated, is far from trivial." Because the growing of wheat for home consumption by hundreds or thousands of farmers could affect the demand and price of wheat, the acts of a solitary bucolic soul fall under Congress' power to regulate interstate commerce.

Not surprisingly, the Court's opinion in *Raich* relied heavily on *Wickard*. Like the growing of wheat for personal consumption, Justice John Paul Stevens noted for the *Raich* majority, "the diversion of homegrown marijuana tends to frustrate the federal interest in eliminating commercial transactions in the interstate market in their entirety." He continued, "[P]roduction of the commodity meant for home consumption, be it wheat or marijuana, has a substantial effect on supply and demand in the national market for that commodity." The fact that some purely intrastate activity is ensnared by the Controlled Substances Act was "of no moment" to Justice Stevens or the federal government. Raich's and Monson's activities fell within the commerce power.

The most troubling aspect of the *Raich* decision is the expansive definition of "economic activity" used by Justice Stevens. In previous decisions that somewhat limited Congress' power under the Commerce Clause, the Court noted that the cumulative-effects analysis of *Wickard* is only applied if the activity Congress seeks to reach is "economic." The *Raich* majority defined *economics* as "the production, distribution, and consumption of commodities." According to the *Raich* decision, the growing of plants for use at home is economic activity, because it involves the production and consumption of a "commodity." Under this reasoning, the growing of a single tomato plant in a container on an apartment balcony is economic activity and, thus, may be regulated by Congress. Congress could even prohibit a child from painting a picture to hang on the wall in his own room because this involves the production of a commodity. Moreover, if all children created their own art, this could substantially affect the interstate market for art.

Justice Clarence Thomas, in his dissenting opinion, correctly summed up the result of *Raich*: "If Congress can regulate this under the Commerce Clause, then it can regulate virtually anything—and the Federal Government is no longer one of limited and enumerated powers."

In the last ten years, the Supreme Court has attempted to impose some modest limits on Congress' use of the Commerce Clause. In *United States* v. *Lopez* (1995), the Court held that possession of a firearm in school zones does not affect the national economy; therefore, Congress cannot ban firearms in these areas using the Commerce Clause. In *United States* v. *Morrison* (2000), the Court rejected the government's claim that crimes of violence motivated by "gender" affect interstate commerce in such a way as to permit the creation of a federal, private right of action. While these cases somewhat limited congressional power, both decisions left *Wickard* intact. Through *Raich*, *Wickard* now promises to eliminate the reserved powers of the states and to subject the people to more government intrusions into their daily existence. The enumerated powers in Article I are rendered superfluous in light of the *Wickard* analysis.

Raich also promises to undo the minor restrictions of *Lopez* and *Morrison*. Under the reasoning of the majority, had the regulation of local activity at issue in those cases been essential to a larger regulation of economic activity, then the *Lopez* and *Morrison* results would have been different. In other words, so long as Congress does not isolate local activity and, instead, includes it in a comprehensive regulation of the economy, the effects on the local matter will not be fatal to the statute's constitutionality.

Although sweeping, *Raich* is not the executioner of the New Federalism; it never existed in the first place. *Wickard* has been the rule since 1942, and it was never called into doubt by *Lopez* or *Morrison*. Justice Thomas, who concurred in the result of *Lopez* in 1995, recognized that retention of the substantial-effects test gave Congress a general "'police power' over all aspects of American life." *Raich* merely affirms the breadth of this power and renders it without meaningful limitation.

The myth of our ultraconservative Supreme Court and its alleged evisceration

Elizabeth Wolf

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of federal power can now be interred—right beside the old Constitution of enumerated powers.

William J. Watkins, Jr., is a research fellow at the Independent Institute and the author of Reclaiming the American Revolution: The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions and Their Legacy.

Killing Off Limited Government

by Doug Bandow

The federal government cannot ban criminals from bringing guns to schools, but it can arrest a person for growing marijuana at home to ease nausea from chemotherapy. Such is the state of Supreme Court jurisprudence.

The intellectual case for the "War on Drugs" faded long ago. Criminalization of what is primarily a moral and health problem has done little to stop substance abuse. But draconian enforcement efforts have done much to generate violent street crime, disrupt and destroy neighborhoods, imprison millions of nonviolent offenders, and spread conflict to nations from Afghanistan to Colombia. Moreover, the War on Drugs has penalized the desperately ill and dying, who have turned to pot as a last resort.

A decade ago, California legalized medical marijuana. Ten other states followed, allowing patients—suffering from such diseases as AIDS, cancer, glaucoma, and multiple sclerosis—to smoke grass for relief from nausea and pain. Although state troopers and local police no longer toss these users in jail, Uncle Sam continues to arrest even those who are dying.

Never mind that Congress is dominated by Republicans who claim to believe in federalism, state autonomy, and limited government. Washington busily overrides states that seek to protect the sick. (Not every conservative is so hypocritical. To his credit, Republican Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (CA) has joined Democratic Rep. Maurice Hinchley (NY) to push legislation barring use of federal dollars to prosecute medical-marijuana users.)

Fifteen years ago, the U.S. Supreme Court began to revive the original constitutional understanding that the federal government did not have unlimited jurisdiction. The Court controversially overturned the Gun Free School Zones Act of 1990 (*Lopez*) and part of the 1994 Violence Against Women Act (*Morrison*). These decisions suggested that there were at least some limits on congressional power. As Justice Sandra Day O'Connor noted in her dissent in *Gonzales* v. *Raich*, "The States' core police powers have always included authority to define criminal law and to protect the health, safety, and welfare of their citizens."

States have not always done a good job, but competition among them gives dissatisfied citizens a choice and encourages poor governments to improve. In this way, states are laboratories of social experimentation.

In recent years, a dozen of them chose to believe citizens such as Angel McClary Raich, one of the plaintiffs, who explained: "We're just sick. We're not criminals."

Raich suffers from chronic pain, multiple tumors, and wasting syndrome; she is obviously no recreational pot user. "We are not being disobedient," she notes. "We are just using this medicine because it saves our lives." Raich adds: "With cannabis, I can play with my kids, walk without a wheelchair, sometimes even get a few hours sleep at night." Her doctor says pot was "the only drug of almost three dozen we have tried that works."

Although Angel Raich has not gone to jail, the government has targeted other patients who use and grow medicinal pot. The Drug Enforcement Agency raided the garden of co-plaintiff and fellow Californian Diane Monson, who suffers from degenerative spine disease. Federal authorities also raided the home of Dana May of Aurora, Colorado, who tends marijuana plants for himself and two other people who are ill. Bryan Epis of Chico, California, was sentenced to ten years in prison after being arrested for cultivating medicinal pot.

Mr. Epis was released after the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals barred federal medical-marijuana prosecutions, based on *Lopez* and *Morrison*. Now, he might have to serve the remaining eight years of his sentence.

Advocates of Washington's drug war, from such federal officials as "drug czar" John Walters to such coercive "prevention" groups as the Drug Free America Foundation, cry crocodile tears for the sick, arguing that marijuana is not good medicine. Maybe, but the anecdotal evidence is impressive, and polls found that overwhelming majorities of American and British oncologists would recommend that their patients use pot if it were legal.

The American Medical Association Council on Scientific Affairs reported that "anecdotal, survey, and clinical data" demonstrate marijuana's medical efficacy. The Institute of Medicine concluded that "marijuana has potential as medicine."

Dozens of health organizations, including the American Cancer Society, California Nurses Association, Kaiser Permanente, and Whitman-Walker Clinic back access to and/or research on medicinal pot. Even the federal government's own National Institutes of Health acknowledges that "Marijuana looks promising enough to recommend that there be new

LIBERAL ARTS

YOU DON'T EVEN KNOW HOW IMPORTANT THIS IS

"Roughly 35,000 concert-goers ate it up Saturday as they took in the worldwide music bonanza known as Live 8. . . .

"Saturday's show was one of nine held simultaneously around the world to pressure leaders of the wealthy G8 nations to increase aid to Africa when they meet in Scotland this week.

"'This is about eight very powerful men getting into a room and doing the right thing,' said Motley Crue singer Vince Neil. . . .

"While most musicians who performed made mention of the purpose behind the event, it seemed lost on some in attendance.

"Marty Gradwell from Whitby, Ont., said Saturday morning that he came to the Canadian gig 'to rock out and enjoy the start of a warm summer.'

"Asked what prompted the worldwide music bash, he could only venture a guess.

"'For AIDS in Afghanistan, is it?'"

—from a Canadian Press article by Angela Pacienza and Tara Brautigam (July 2)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

controlled studies done."

The issue is not pot's value as a medicine but Uncle Sam's role. The debate should be carried out in state governments across America, not in Washington. Grant that the federal government correctly jails people who prefer to get high on marijuana or cocaine rather than derive their buzz from alcohol or cigarettes. Grant that Washington can criminalize local sales because of their connection to interstate drug shipments. Nonetheless, if residents of Oregon, Colorado, Arizona, or any other state believe that someone dying of cancer should be left alone if he uses marijuana to control chemo-induced nausea, Uncle Sam should butt out. As Justice O'Connor observed,

> There is simply no evidence that homegrown medicinal marijuana users constitute, in the aggregate, a sizable enough class to have a discernible, let alone substantial, impact on the national illicit drug market.

Is there any limit on the reach of Uncle Sam's mailed fist? Indeed, if the opinion in *Gonzales* v. *Raich* is correct, one has to wonder why the nation's founders bothered to write a constitution. They simply could have explained legislative power in one sentence: "Congress can do anything that it pleases."

Candidate George W. Bush said that the legalization of medical marijuana should be left up to the states. But President George W. Bush's administration urged the Supreme Court to endorse federal supremacy in a sick person's garden. Limited government is dead.

Doug Bandow is a senior fellow at the Cato Institute and a former special assistant to President Ronald Reagan.

MORALITY

The Legacy of Sandra Dee

by B.K. Eakman

A first-wave Baby Boomer, I grew up the 1950's and early 60's. We teenage girls yearned to look like Sandra Dee (a.k.a. Alexandra Zuck), who passed away on February 20, 2005. If we couldn't remake ourselves into the image of "Gidget," then Mouseketeer-turned-beach-babe Annette Funicello, Carol Lynley (*Blue Denim*), Tuesday Weld (*Rally Round the Flag, Boys!*), Shelley Fabares (*Ride the Wild Surf*), or Natalie Wood (*West Side Story*) had to do. There were others, of course. But Sandra Dee defined the era.

Our mothers' female idols included Elizabeth Taylor, Hedy Lamar, Judy Garland, and Ingrid Bergman. Audrey Hepburn, Leslie Caron, and Debbie Reynolds were crossovers, but they, too, were replaced by packaged "stars" that catered almost exclusively to the nation's teen and preteen culture, not to young adults, as in the past.

Sandra, Annette, Carol, and Tuesday all had "the look": wide-eyed innocence that telegraphed the enthusiasm of a much-coveted, just-opened Christmas present. They also had perfect curves. The "Twiggy" look came later, and we 50's girls, steeped as we were in a Gidget/Annette mind-set, were stumped as to why anybody would want to look like—well, like most of *us*. Only as adults did we discover that Sandra Dee starved herself to preserve that hour-glass waistline.

"The look" meant being sexy without trying—*i.e.*, sexiness without the flaunting. That is what we thought boys wanted: mystery, flirtation, and the disarming sort of candor of the ingenue—someone they could feel protective toward.

We, on the other hand, wanted young men who would knock the blazes out of any oaf who tried to force himself on us or who dared proffer a crude remark in our direction. In the words of Brenda Lee, we "wanted to be wanted" (not, "I want to be *taken*"). In the final analysis, it was still *our* call as to whether a fellow's advances were accepted, just as it had been in our parents' day.

Celebrity managers of the late 50's had other ideas; they were surreptitiously altering such views. Even though the teenage girls of my era were disinclined to parade their sexuality, we were being pushed to do exactly that, through such films as *Gidget* and *Blue Denim*. The trend accelerated later with the Elvis Presley movies.

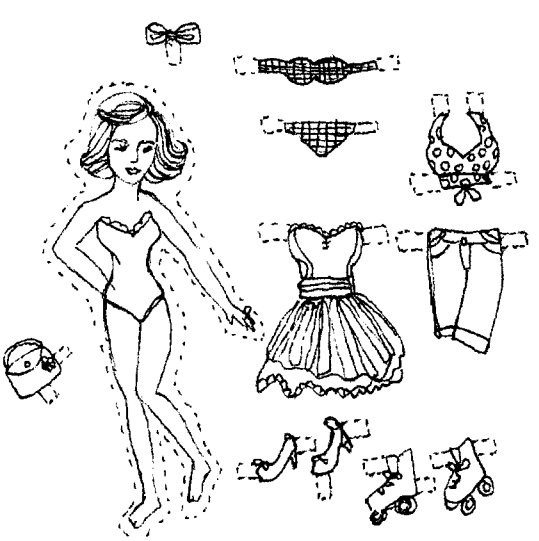
My parents weren't particularly happy about the Gidget films, although they allowed me to see them. But they drew the line at *Blue Denim*, which centered on a teenager's out-of-wedlock pregnancy. The "Beach Blanket" Annette and Frankie Avalon films were similarly off limits.

At the time, I was furious with my folks. I argued that these movies were no different from those Bob Hope-Rosalind Russell *Road Shows*, or the Rock Hudson-Doris Day comedies, not to mention the Marilyn Monroe romps such as *Some Like It Hot*.

But the teen flicks of the 50's and 60's *were* different. Older romantic comedies, such as the Hope-Crosby *Road Shows*, were spoofs with a few exaggerated knockouts that nobody took seriously. The Rock Hudson-Doris Day films were lighthearted, forgettable, and aimed at family audiences. Parents decided when their youngsters were mature enough to understand them. Marilyn Monroe pictures catered to a more mature audience, but again, her antics were mainly farcical—overstated in a way that children would not find amusing, in any case. Moreover, the sexuality offered in the 40's and early 50's was discreet, not blatant, and the characters were adults, not minors.

The Gidget and Lynley films, representative of the new "teen-flick" genre, challenged accepted values and frequently defied them. Underage female characters were continually placed in sexually compromising situations. While humorous interludes did exist, the Gidget series and *Blue Demin* had the feel of serious dramas.

The Annette and Frankie movies were less somber, of course, but the clean-cut Annette was repackaged into a voluptuous, bikini-clad sexpot—albeit *sans* the vulgar gyrations of today's Britney Spears, Janet Jackson, and Beyoncé Knowles. Parents such as mine were often at a loss to articulate their misgivings



Elizabeth Wolf

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to their daughters, but some recognized, nevertheless, that the subtle sexuality of the mid-50's was morphing into raw exhibitionism.

To be truthful, we 12- and 13-year-old girls squirmed in our seats when actor Cliff Robertson tried to seduce Sandra Dee in *Gidget*. I recall being uncomfortable when he dangled sexually provocative lingerie in front of her in one scene. No, we were not inhibited, but we *were* embarrassed—for Sandra Dee, not for ourselves. This guy was using her, not protecting her—definitely not very romantic.

Like my parents, I was unable to convey what my little friends and I were feeling back then when we watched the new teen movies, and the boys we liked were more into cars and adventure films, anyway. It was a fine distinction, after all, between love and lust, but the really enlightened parents knew it when they saw it. And they were right.

The emergence of teen films propelled us, along with rock music and school-sponsored preteen dances, into relationships we were not ready for. The film industry kept pushing the envelope, until raunchy language, gross sexuality, and, finally, illegitimacy became normalized. By the 1970's, one did not have to go to the movies to hear nonstop double entendres. By the 1980's, television had devolved into cruel put-downs, bathroom humor, and bed hopping. In the 1970's, *The Gong Show*, featuring "contestants" who were nearly uniformly awful, was rejected by audiences as dehumanizing. Today, *American Idol* and its equally abusive spin-offs are hits.

I had to laugh during a recent PBS pledge week (the week when affiliates air repeat performances of the shows executives believe were the audience favorites). This time, PBS was featuring folk music of the 1960's and 70's, which drew a huge teenage audience in its day. Hosting the program was the Smothers Brothers. During a mid-show interview, Tom and Dick Smothers made the expected comments about how PBS had been a huge influence on their family. However, Tom commented that PBS programs were generally the only ones he allowed *his* kids to watch. Quite a statement, coming from a team that was kicked off the air in 1969 for pushing the boundaries of acceptable speech and good taste. Of course, using comedy as a platform for counterculture politics and lifestyles hardly raises an eyebrow today; nevertheless, the Smothers Brothers, together with many of the "folk" heroes featured on the PBS program, helped launch the opening salvo (with Dan Rowan and Dick Martin's *Laugh-In*) in today's battle over decorum in entertainment. Following CBS, the other networks caved in by the late 1970's.

Like so many stars, Sandra Dee ruined her health with extreme diets, alcohol, and drugs. Perhaps her career was destined to end as she changed from teenage heartthrob to mature woman. Yet, given her head start, she could have used her name-recognition to jump-start a new career, even after her divorce from Bobby Darrin and his untimely demise. In the end, she was unable to make that transition, just as many of her young fans were unable to emerge from adolescence. Sandra Dee was among the first teen starlets to be used by an increasingly left-leaning entertainment industry to stunt childhood, catapulting little girls into lives of Hollywood-engineered rebellion, recreational sex, drugs, and shattered innocence.

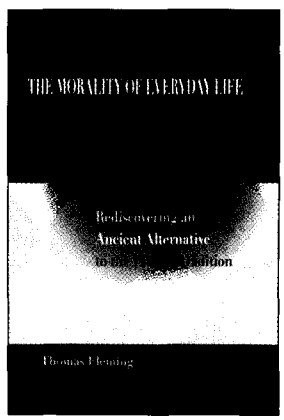
Beverly K. Eakman, a former teacher, is executive director of the National Education Consortium, a columnist, and the author of two best-selling books on education policy.

The Morality of Everyday Life: Rediscovering an Ancient Alternative to the Liberal Tradition

by Thomas Fleming

What passes for conservatism today is really nothing more than the impossible moral and social theories of the Renaissance and Enlightenment, in which universal abstractions, such as democracy and equality, are presented as hard truths, when, in fact, they have never existed in any society in human history. Nonetheless, they are to be applied worldwide, at the tip of a spear (or cruise missile) if necessary.

Dr. Fleming's alternative is rooted in "everyday life," the local realities of blood and soil, custom and tradition, friendship and faith, and in the wisdom born of the experiences these realities beget. This wisdom finds expression in folktales and fables, in ancient Hebrew Scriptures and Greek philosophy, and in medieval casuistry. It is the method to solving ethical problems great and small, and it is the method that undergirds authentic conservatism.



"No more important book has been published in this new century."
—E. Christian Kopff
The American Conservative

"Crisp and spellbinding . . . [T]he antidote to the stifling, suffocating, corrosive banality of modern culture and politics."
—Paul Likoudis
The Wanderer

"Writing much more accessibly and knowledgeably than most modern professional philosophers, Fleming revivifies the body of thought with which civilization was created and without which it is disintegrating."
—Ray Olson
Booklist

Chronicles
A MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN CULTURE

- send check or money order to 928 N. Main Street, Rockford, IL 61103
- call (800) 383-0680 to order with MasterCard, Visa, Amex, Discover
- purchase online at the webstore on *ChroniclesMagazine.org*

Hardcover Price $49.95
($44.95 + $5.00 shipping and handling)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

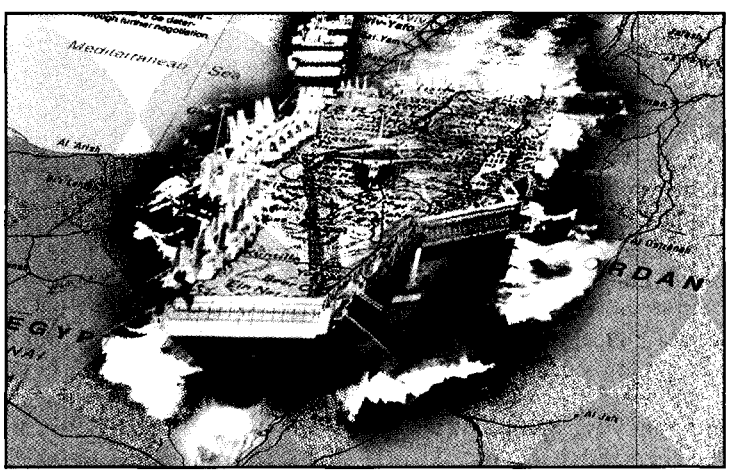
The purpose of this book is to rekindle debate in the United States about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. . . . It is not normal that the discourse on the dispute is far more dynamic, varied, and intelligent in other countries—including Israel—than in America.

—From the "Foreword"

Peace in the Promised Land: A Realist Scenario

edited by Srdja Trifkovic

featuring chapters by Middle Eastern experts, *Chronicles* editors, and scholars
Thomas Fleming, Michael Stenton, Leon Hadar, Srdja Trifkovic, Aaron D. Wolf, Paul Gottfried, Wayne Allensworth, David A. Hartman, Doug Bandow, Stephen B. Presser, and Ivan Eland, as well as color maps, source documents, and a selected bibliography



Few issues in American foreign policy evoke more emotion than U. S support for Israel. With the death of Yasser Arafat and a new centrist coalition in Israel, however, it is time to reconsider the question, "What is the American interest in this conflict?"

Peace in the Promised Land is essential reading for anyone who wants to move beyond sound bites and policy proposals to understand the roots of the conflict—and the role that the United States can play in its resolution.

Pre-publication price $19.95 **ORDER NOW SAVE $10.00** Regular book price $29.95

Peace in the Promised Land Order Form (please allow 6 weeks for delivery)

PEAC

Hardcover Price $24.95
($19.95 + $5.00 shipping and handling each)

X Quantity _____

Total _____

Please mail form (with payment) to:
Chronicles/Products
P.O. Box 800, Mount Morris, IL 61054

or, to order toll-free,
call 1-800-397-8160

ACFIA805

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

☐ Check or money order enclosed

☐ Please bill my: ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa ☐ Amex ☐ Discover

Card # _____

Expiration Date _____

Signature _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by George McCartney

Low Blows, Dark Vengeance

Cinderella Man

Produced and distributed by Universal Pictures and Miramax Films
Directed by Ron Howard
Screenplay by Cliff Hollingsworth and Akiva Goldsman

Batman Begins

Produced and distributed by Warner Brothers
Directed by Christopher Nolan
Screenplay by David S. Goyer

Boxing has always been a favorite subject for screenwriters. No other sport accommodates their mythomaniacal instincts quite so well. In *Body and Soul* (1947), Abraham Polonsky dramatized his Marxist analysis of American capitalism to disturbing effect. Seven years later, Budd Schulberg, having been bruised by Marxist analysts himself, turned the tables with *On the Waterfront*, in which proletarian middleweight Marlon Brando defeats a gaggle of union goons standing in for the strong-arm wing of the American Communist Party. In the 70's, Sylvester Stallone's *Rocky* kayoed the cheap cynicism of an entire decade.

Ron Howard's beautifully made *Cinderella Man* works in the same tradition and boasts fine performances from all its principals, especially Russell Crowe and Paul Giamatti. Its achievements are eclipsed, however, by its casual disregard for truth.

This is not a yarn with boxing as its central metaphor. It is supposed to be the story of James Braddock (Crowe), an Irish-American boxer whose career paralleled America's boom-and-bust fortunes from the 1920's to the 30's. Howard wants us to believe that we are beholding the trials of the Great Depression refracted through the experience of one indomitable individual. He has even slapped documentary-style captions onto the foot of the screen to identify key events in Braddock's career. The appeal of Braddock's story is easy to understand. He was the archetypal underdog defying all expectations. After being forced into early Palookaville at 28, he made an unlikely comeback, establishing himself as a legitimate world heavyweight contender, a feat that prompted no less a wordsmith than Damon Runyon to call him the Cinderella Man.

For all its show of realism, Howard's film is deeply fraudulent. He and his writers Cliff Hollingsworth and Akiva Goldsman are so intent on making Braddock an iconic working-class hero that they have carefully tidied up his life and, for strictly dramatic purposes, slandered Max Baer, the man he would fight for the heavyweight championship in 1935.

Howard has smoothed away Braddock's rougher edges to give us a portrait of an almost saintly prizefighter who fought only to provide for his wife Mae (Renée Zellweger) and their three children. There is no indication that Braddock ran a Hoboken speakeasy during Prohibition and occasionally ran afoul of the Bergen County police, decking a precinct captain with his powerful right cross on one particularly trying night. Howard ignores such episodes, lest they detract from his inspirational allegory. Whatever the facts, Braddock must stand for the grit and resilience of American individualism, and that's that.

The film shows Braddock starting out as a promising fighter, only to have his career temporarily derailed when he repeatedly broke his right hand on the skulls of various opponents. As the nation entered the Great Depression, he found himself unable to fight. Without other skills, he turned to irregular, poorly paid shape-up jobs on the Hoboken docks. Like many others, he soon fell behind. Milk delivery was stopped for nonpayment. Electricity and gas were turned off. His children went hungry and sick, and Mae became frantic. So much is true, but it is not enough for Howard. He shows us Braddock signing up for government home relief to feed his starving family and later repaying the funds after he returns to the ring. This looks exceptionally noble, but Howard leaves out that it was not public-spiritedness alone that drove Braddock to repay the money. He was squelching bad publicity. There had been complaints. Some thought it unseemly for a prize fighter to accept government support, especially when he had fans working in the relief department.

By Hollywood standards, such fudging is a venial sin hardly worth mentioning, except that it exists side by side with a whopping mortal offense: the shameless defamation of Max Baer. As played by Craig Bierko, Baer is made out to be an arrogant, preening thug who boastfully capitalized on the fact that he killed two men in the ring. This is libelous. Baer did kill a fighter named Frankie Campbell in 1930, but it could hardly be said to be his fault. It happened because the referee failed to stop the bout when he should have. Far from boasting about it, Baer was so deeply distressed afterward that he almost quit the ring. Later, he helped Campbell's widow pay for her children's education. As for the other opponent, Ernie Schaaf, there's no evidence Baer was responsible. After his bout with Baer, Schaaf went on to fight another four men before he expired. As for Baer, far from taking pride in his killer prowess, he would never be the same boxer again—except, possibly, in his 1933 match with German champion Max Schmeling. Yet Howard portrays Baer as a callous bully glorying in his brutal reputation. Meeting Braddock and his wife in a restaurant on the eve of their fight, Howard's Baer suggests Braddock back out of the match since Mae is "too pretty to be a widow." Then, turning to Mae herself, he adds leeringly, "On second thought, you can always come to me for comfort." This is not dramatic license; it is a damn lie.

Only a screenwriter as contemptuous of truth as Goldsman could suggest Baer was a bully. The truth is, Baer exasperated his manager and fans for letting up on opponents after Campbell's death. When he fought Primo Carnera for the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

championship in 1934, he repeatedly urged the referee to stop the bout once he realized the Venetian giant could no longer protect himself. Anyone familiar with boxing knows how foolhardy such compassion is in the ring. Wounded opponents can be exceedingly dangerous, especially in the heavyweight division, where a moment's inattention can invite a bomb from the blue that will cost a boxer the fight, if not his life. But Baer chose to run this risk rather than inflict further damage on the apparently helpless Carnera. This is not the film's version, however. In keeping with his decision to make Baer the villain, Howard shows him sneering at the beaten man as he gleefully pummels him senseless.

Then there is the Star of David that Baer wore on his boxing trunks. It appears in the film probably in deference to the contemporary photos of Baer in the ring. Nevertheless, Howard studiously avoids addressing the religious emblem directly. Too bad. It is essential to understanding Baer's character. Baer's father was half Jewish; his mother, Scotch-Irish; they brought him up in a nominally Catholic household. When he was preparing to fight Schmeling, his Jewish manager, Ancil Hoffman, decided to play up his Semitic background. He thought it would be good publicity and perhaps motivate the notoriously lackadaisical Baer. And so Baer agreed to wear a Star of David into the ring to fight Hitler's boxer. (That Schmeling was neither a Nazi nor a Hitler supporter did not deter Hoffman, who seems to have regarded boxing, not unreasonably, as a just another lucrative department of showbiz.)

After defeating Schmeling, Baer decided to wear the Jewish emblem in all his subsequent matches. More than its publicity value, he was making a principled protest against what was happening to Jews in Germany at a time when all too many Americans were content to look the other way. Baer was neither a saint nor an idealist. His carousing, womanizing, and lack of professionalism were legendary. But he unquestionably harbored a considerable measure of decency. Unforgivably, this film strips Baer of his good reputation. In film reviews across the country, Baer has been dishonored, being called "slimy," "infamous," and worse. The *Kansas City Star*'s review referred to him as a "testosterone-fueled brute."

Howard and Goldsman needed a villain to craft their sweetly inspirational fairy tale, and Baer happened to be handy. They are entirely comfortable with such lying. Consider their portrait of John Nash in *A Beautiful Mind*. They felt free to transform the Nobel-prize-winning mathematician into a right-wing looney. In keeping with their conventionally liberal politics, they preferred to have him hunting commies under every Middle American bed than to reveal that his schizophrenia drove him to leftist antics, such as briefly defecting to East Germany in 1960.

Howard's slanderous portrayal of Baer's character is all the more objectionable because his film is so well made and performed. He has fully captured the Depression's bleakness, steeping his scenes in dark sepia tones. In many shots, Mae and Braddock appear in heavily shadowed profile, their faces disappearing into a void that threatens to engulf them. We catch glimpses of their children making do with discarded items for their recreation: a bedspring for a trampoline, an abandoned jalopy for a playhouse. When their gas and electric are turned off, we see Mae and the children tearing down the lattice work under an Esso sign for firewood.

The fight scenes are equally convincing. In fact, they seem to have been choreographed punch for punch according to the newspaper reports of the time retailed in several books—most notably, Jeremy Schaap's compelling and balanced (although somewhat exuberantly titled) *Cinderella Man: James J. Braddock, Max Baer, and the Greatest Upset in Boxing History*. Tellingly, Schaap's book is not mentioned as a source on the movie's official website. Evidently, Howard and Goldsman deemed Schaap's factual account unsuitable to their needs.

The film is partially rescued by Crowe and Giamatti. Although too old and too small to play Braddock, Crowe nevertheless makes you believe in his character. There is an alchemy in Crowe's performances that defies analysis. Like the greatest film actors—Frederick March, Marlon Brando, Richard Burton, and Gene Hackman come to mind—he knows how to be still in front of the camera and simply inhabit his character. His intensity and focus are truly remarkable. Here, he is matched by Giamatti, playing his perfect foil. Giamatti is the faithful wheeler-dealer manager, Joe Gould, a little man with a big mouth whose ceaseless promotional patter in Braddock's cause provides eloquent counterpoint to the boxer's silent integrity. As one ring impresario aptly says of Gould, "They ought to put [his] mouth in a circus." The man of words and the man of action come together as an unstoppable force, and, while the film is running at least, it is difficult not to be swept along in the tide of their loyalty to each other.

If you want to see a film that honors its origins, try director Chris Nolan's *Batman Begins*, a dark, dank meditation on Bob Kane's vengeful knight. But do not take the younger kids. Although there is no gore, the violent action is grim, relentless, and, most disturbingly, shot at such close quarters as to be visually overwhelming, if not just plain confusing. What's more, as Batman, Christian Bale is truly menacing, flashing in and out of impenetrable shadows, his voice inhumanly metallic. In one scene, a deranged culprit has a vision of the real Batman. From beneath the bat cowl emerges not Bruce Wayne but a snarling black beast, the very embodiment of implacable vengeance.

In his bid to reinvigorate the Batman franchise, Nolan has paid full—one might say morbid—respect to Wayne's tortured origins. His fear of bats, the killing of his parents, and his grief and confusion are all meticulously dramatized. Furthermore, we learn how he came to don the cowl and cape. He took ninja training from Liam Neeson—who else?—somewhere on what appears to be the lower slopes of the Himalayas. "To conquer fear, you must become fear," intones the warrior, seemingly on leave from *Star Wars*.

Although intriguing, this *Batman* is overly plotted and too monochromatically stygian for its own good. The new Batman uniform is symptomatic: It is solidly black. In Tim Burton's 1989 *Batman*, the costume's darkness was relieved by the splash of yellow in its bat insignia, crafted to suggest at once a menacing bat and a wickedly toothy smile. For his next installment, Nolan needs to find his colorful Joker. ©

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by Chilton Williamson, Jr.

Dia de los Muertos

Fall had always been Héctor Villa's least-favorite season. This year, as the days shortened and his cousin's stayover in his home lengthened inexorably, he felt his substance as a householder drain away in exact proportion to the diminishing quantity of the pale indirect light. Four days after the shortest day of the year comes Christmas; already, AveMaría had her credit cards out, and Juana was promising to pay her share of the debt as soon as the local economy picked up enough to allow Eufemio to find a job.

Though born to a family of *paisanos*, Héctor had never before lived in a *colonia*, and he found it difficult to adjust to the experience now. True, by comparison with the Juárez *colonias* visible from Interstate 10 in the neighborhood of the ARCO plant in El Paso, his home in Belen was a palace. Unfortunately, it was also crowded to bursting, unlike the seemingly deserted *barrios* across the brown trickle of the Rio Grande, at whose empty and precipitous dirt streets Héctor gazed wistfully each time he made the trip to the border, though formerly he had found Ciudad Juárez dirty, distasteful, and depressing. Like it or not, he'd be visiting the place again at the beginning of November for *Dia de los Muertos*—the Day of the Dead, Juana Villa's favorite holiday. Héctor expected he would need to rent two vans to transport the families there for a three-night stay at the Holiday Inn Express on the Paseo Triunfo de la Republica, in the vicinity of the Plaza Monumental bull ring. Maybe even a third, to hold all the Christmas presents the girls bought at the *mercado* along the Avenida Juárez. It gave him a sick feeling just thinking about it. On top of everything, he would have to endure the wrath of his Assembly of God church if Dr. Billy Joe learned he'd attended a heathen festival in Mexico. Of course, celebrating *Dia de los Muertos* wasn't actually a sin, like going to Mass at the Cathedral of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Still, Héctor suspected, it was sin enough—in the preacher's eyes, anyhow. He consoled himself by reflecting that, after nearly two months, his regular visits to the Taberna Aztlán on the road between Belen and Los Lunas in the company of Jesús "Eddie" Juárez had yet to be revealed to the world. Though not what the world calls a drinking man, Héctor found the *taberna* a refuge from the chaos the Eufemio Villas had made of his once-comfortable home, a relatively quiet place where he could get away for an hour or two after supper to relax while conversing with his friend. Since Jesús "Eddie," as a candidate for a seat on the local school board in the upcoming fall election, knew everything that went on at the city hall these days and seemed more than willing to talk about it, Héctor was content to let him do most of the talking, while he drank beer and listened.

"The goddamn *Anglos*," Jesús "Eddie" was complaining on a chilly evening in mid-October as the two men sat across the table from each other beside the big plate-glass window looking out on Highway 47, considered to be the most dangerous in New Mexico on account of its narrow shoulders, frequent curves, and numerous drunk drivers. Directly across the road from the *taberna*, a large billboard, lighted from below, read VOTE JESÚS "EDDIE" JUÁREZ FOR SCHOOL BOARD DISTRICT NO. 2 in huge red letters. "They want to take over our public school *system*, *hombre*! All these immigrant white kids from Chicago, Minnesota, *Ohio*! Hundreds of thousands of them in the last ten *years* alone! Ten more, and our teachers will have to speak *English* in *class*. Then the *Anglos* will have stolen our culture from us for good! Listen to me, *compadrito*—it is time Eufemio's kids went to school here, in Belen. We need all the brown children we can get, even if they are wetbacks from Mexico!"

"Eufemio can't risk enrolling them until he has the necessary documents to show," Héctor explained patiently, for at least the fourth or fifth time in a month. "He's got a fellow in Canutillo drawing them up now." Héctor didn't add that he himself was paying for the forgery, to the tune of a couple of thousand dollars or so.

"You need to get the boy, Máximo, out of the house as soon as possible, *compadrito*, before he finds mischief to get into." By "mischief," Jesús "Eddie" meant Contracepción, though he didn't dare to say so. Though grudgingly aware that he himself was too old for the girl (in her father's eyes, at least), he found the thought of the younger man having her intolerable. Seeing the way the kid made out with the girl when he thought her father wasn't looking made him squirm with jealousy and frustration.

"I'm driving everyone to Juárez for *Dia de los Muertos* in a couple of weeks," Héctor assured his friend. "We can stop in Canutillo for the papers on the way down there, if they're ready by then."

Jesús "Eddie" froze suddenly, the tequila bottle poised above his glass, to squint resentfully at the billboard, where one of the electric lights had just burned out in a sudden small explosion.

"When *I* am a school *board* member," he said darkly, "the *migra* won't dare come around, asking to see people's papers—you see if they don't, *hombre*."

With November's approach, disagreement emerged among the Villas—the Héctor as well as the Eufemio family—concerning the proposed trip to Ciudad Juárez at the start of the month. Eufemio, it appeared, detesting *Dia de los Muertos* as a superstitious relic of the Catholic religion for which, since his arrival in El Norte, he'd conceived a violent dislike, preferred to attend the stock-car races in Alamagordo instead. Héctor had been relieved by the prospect of having to rent only one van to make the trip, before Contracepción began pleading permission to accompany Luz, her best friend, at a three-day, open-air rock concert at the State Fair grounds in Albuquerque.

"Too much money," he decreed shortly. Besides the cost of the (to him) fabulously overpriced ticket, there was also the combined expense of gas, meals, and two or three nights in a big-city hotel to consider. "Here am I, supporting half the village of Namiquipa out of my own pocket, and my daughter expects me to pay for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

her to attend a *fiesta de percusión*?" Since the alternative was her share of a room at the Holiday Inn Express and meals, money was not the true ground of Héctor's objection. His nephew Máximo was.

"You'd have to pay for me anyway, in Juárez," Contracepción reminded him.

"In Albuquerque, we can sleep in the car, or in sleeping bags at the fairground. Besides, they give me extra credit in school—for Life Experience—if I go. O, *mi querido Papá—por piedad*!"

Though she was an indifferent student at best, it was important to Héctor that his daughter do well in school so that she might grow up to realize the American Dream, as he had. Therefore, he relented. Perhaps Máximo would rather take in the dog races in Juárez than a three-day rock concert, anyhow.

Several days before the departure date, the Villa-family outing seemed to have fragmented to the point where Héctor felt confident in reserving a single van to accommodate all who wished to travel to Mexico for the *Dia de los Muertos* celebration, a number of the males in the younger generation having decided to accompany Eufemio to Alamagordo instead. Then, only the day before he'd intended to call the rental office, the telephone rang just as the Villas had finished supper and Juana was settling in to watch *Desperate Housewives* in the den, while AveMaría and Contracepción cleared away the table. It was Jesús "Eddie" calling for Héctor from the Taberna Aztlán.

"*Buenas noches*," he said. "A word to the wise with you, *hermano*."

"Anytime, *compadrito*. 'S'up?"

"Are you sitting down?" Jesús "Eddie" asked him.

Héctor had been sitting at the table when AveMaría handed him the telephone receiver at the end of its stretch cord. Now, he stood up quickly. "What is the matter?" he demanded in alarm.

"Plenty," Jesús "Eddie" told him darkly, his voice dropping nearly to a whisper. "The f--king Anglos, man—they're trying to make *trou*ble for you again! This time, on account of all the people you have living with you, in your own *home*. They're claiming Héctor Villa is in violation of the resi*den*tial code; the summons will be mailed out later this week. I heard the news over at City Hall two hours ago, when I was putting a campaign mailing through the postage-stamp machine. (The town clerk, Estevan "Gordo" Baca, is a buddy of mine, a real *hermano*.) I'm telling you—it's *ra*cism, man!"

Barely aware of what he was saying, Héctor thanked Jesús "Eddie" for the tip and broke the connection without cradling the receiver. Then, he dialed the rental company's 1-800 number and reserved two Ford vans, capable of accommodating up to 24 people, from October 31 through November 3.

Héctor lay awake all that night, with the baby Dubya crowded between him and AveMaría on account of the shortage of beds in the combined Villa households; by the morning, he had a plan. It was one he felt so sure of that, even when Contracepción ambushed him in the vulnerable period between arising and drinking his first cup of coffee to announce that Máximo had selflessly proposed to forego the dog track so as to be at liberty to drive Luz and her to Albuquerque, he did not despair; in fact, he scarcely even flinched. His scheme, he felt, partook of the genius of Pancho Villa in commandeering a coal train and using it as a modern-day Trojan Horse to smuggle his troops into Ciudad Juárez. Where The Centaur had not failed, he, Héctor Villa, would not fail, either. All he needed was nerve, a bit of luck, and—above all—timing.

Thirty-six hours ahead of the scheduled departure for Mexico, Héctor sprained his wrist in a fall from the roof of his house, where he had gone climbing to nail down a few shingles that never needed nailing in the first place. Refusing to visit a doctor, he had AveMaría bandage the arm, starting at the fingertips and going as high as the shoulder, until, it seemed, almost his entire right side was swathed in an impressive cocoon of gauze and tape. Then, twenty-four hours before departure, he informed his cousin that, as he himself was manifestly incapable of operating a motor vehicle, Eufemio would have to take the wheel of one van, while Máximo drove the other. This announcement, as Héctor had expected, produced noisy protests asserting a preference for Alamagordo and Albuquerque over Juárez. Also as expected, the protests were instantly and effectively suppressed by Juana, as soon as she was made to understand that, absent Eufemio and Máximo, no one would be traveling to Mexico for *Dia de los Muertos* at all.

The party made a delayed start on the thirty-first, on account of Héctor experiencing an attack of diarrhea that lasted from breakfast until well after lunch, so that, by the time they reached Canutillo, they were running so late he suggested they continue south to the border and pick up the Eufemio Villas' forged documentation papers on the way home, as they wouldn't be required on the trip. In Juárez, the Villas checked in to the Holiday Express Inn and went for dinner afterward at the McDonald's on the Avenida de las Americas, where Héctor tried to ignore the Tarahumara Indian women with their babies and tin cups and the street vendors selling sugar candy in the shape of skulls. Never had Mexico seemed to him so dirty, backward, and miserable—so downright embarrassing, really.

For the next three days, while the families watched the Indians dance on the plaza before the cathedral and ate their lunches off the tombstones of unknown dead people in neighboring cemeteries, and Eufemio lost the money he'd borrowed at the dog races, Héctor lay stretched on his bed at the hotel, with the television set switched on. In fact, it wasn't the documentary about General Huerta's treacherous killing of President Madero that occupied his mind but the final step of the master plan he had conceived in Belen the week before. At last, when he was quite certain he was doing the right thing, on the afternoon before the return to the U.S., he made a single phone call from his bedside phone.

At a little past eight o'clock the next morning, two white Ford vans filled with shrieking children left the parking lot behind the Holiday Inn Express and made their way, one following the other, through the rush-hour traffic toward the international bridge. Riders in the police helicopters hovering overhead would have seen the vans pass silently beneath the acre-sized flags, Mexican and American, waving above Chamizal Park and continue on their way across the Rio Grande to the Customs and Immigration inspection station on the north bank of the river, where Old Glory waved alone in splendid isolation. And they would have watched tensely as a small squad of agents in green uniforms surrounded the vehicles that halted at a signal from two of the men, who thereupon stepped forward to rap smartly on the drivers' windows.

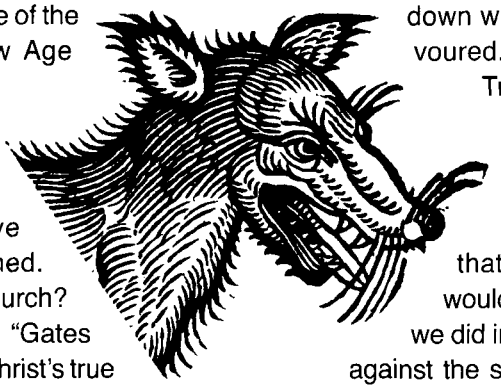
"Documentation?" the agents demanded grimly.

In the instant of his deliverance, the words of a familiar American song, half remembered, occurred vaguely to Héctor Villa. "Free at last! Thank God I'm free at last!" He felt a little remorse, but not much, hardly more than a pang. And Juana, at least, really *had* been a terrorist of sorts, after all. c

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Wolf Inside The Catholic Church

If Catholics want to see what the Catholic Church would look like if liberal Catholics get their way, all they need do is look at the Episcopal Church, which incarnates the wish list of liberal Catholics: approval of shacking-up, abortion, and homosexual unions; priestesses and out-of-the-closet homosexual priests; junking the doctrine of the Indissolubility of Marriage; New Age (neo-pagan) rituals; etc.



If in, say, 1970 you asked if all of this could happen in the staid Episcopal Church, almost every Episcopalian would have said, "Never!" Alas, it's happened. Could it happen in the Catholic Church? We Catholics have faith that the "Gates of Hell" will never prevail against Christ's true Church, but they could prevail in, say, the U.S. and Europe, just as they prevailed in North Africa.

Sadly, the same type of liberal Christians who run the Episcopal Church can be found in the Catholic Church in the U.S. The "middle management" of the U.S. Church is riddled with dissenters.

How should loyal Catholics relate to such people? Should we seek common ground with them? Dialogue with them? In the Episcopal Church over the past decades there were many fine Christians who took this falsely charitable approach. They said, let's talk with these earnest, if somewhat loosey-goosey Episcopalians. And, you know, pretty soon those fine, kind-hearted Christians weakened under the pressure of the *Zeitgeist*. And then they were devoured.

There's a huge lesson for Catholics to learn here: You just can't pow-wow with liberal Catholics, because they come to any negotiating table from a position of massive strength. They don't just represent themselves. They're of the same ilk that overran the Episcopal Church and numerous other Protestant denominations. And they have the full force of secular Western culture — the *Zeitgeist* — behind them. In this world, when the lambs lie down with the wolves, the lambs are devoured.

Trust us! We've seen it happen. Our magazine, the NEW OXFORD REVIEW, started out in the Episcopalian (or Anglican) tradition.

In 1981 *Newsweek* predicted that, like John Henry Newman, we would become Roman Catholic, which we did in 1983. And now we must contend against the same dark forces that prevailed in the Episcopal Church, but now in the Catholic Church. And if you're an orthodox Catholic, *so must you!*

The Holy Father can't solve our problems for us all by himself. We must all do our part. One way to get into the action is to read the NEW OXFORD REVIEW. Published monthly, we analyze all the challenges facing the Church — sometimes in depth, sometimes with dismissive satire, but always with clarity and forcefulness. We don't dialogue with dissenters — we annihilate them (intellectually only, of course).

We've got "attitude," says Karl Keating; "heartily recommended," says *The Wanderer*; "first-rate," says *National Review*. We've got a wolfhound of a magazine here ready to help you defeat the predators who seek to undermine your faith in Christ and His Church. Subscribe!

(Please allow 2 to 8 weeks for delivery of first issue.)

SPECIAL DISCOUNT RATES FOR FIRST-TIME SUBSCRIBERS

- ☐ One-year subscription ..... $14 (regularly $19)
- ☐ One-year student, unemployed, or retired person's subscription ..... $12 (regularly $16)
- ☐ Two-year subscription ..... $23 (regularly $35)
- ☐ One-year non-U.S. subscription ..... US$24 (regularly $29) Payment must be drawn in U.S. Dollars.
- ☐ Sample copy $3.50

➔ Our prices are *so low* because you can't pay by credit card and payment must accompany order. Send letter or this coupon with check payable to NEW OXFORD REVIEW. Mail to:

NEW OXFORD REVIEW
Room 52
1069 Kains Ave.
Berkeley CA 94706

Name (Please print or type)

Street Address or P.O. Box

City State Zip

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Greatest Threat to Our Civilization?

Is our civilization in peril? Is it possible that America and the Western world in general—ostensibly more powerful and more affluent than ever—are in mortal danger? Even if you are an optimist who believes that Western culture can be revived, you would be mistaken to think that there is no threat that demands immediate action to save our civilization.

Chronicles' Foreign Affairs Editor Srdja Trifkovic believes that the most serious immediate threat to the West is Islam, a teaching that is part religion, part totalitarian ideology, and part blueprint for global conquest. He is not a prophet of doom but a realist who believes that the "War on Terror" is a just and necessary endeavor. But he warns that the war is misnamed: It confuses the jihadist enemy with the terrorist tool. More seriously, it is waged without a proper assessment of the enemy and his beliefs, motives, and past record.

You can now hear Dr. Trifkovic expand on these themes in his brand-new series:

Islam: The Score

These three alarming one-hour audiotapes or CD's present:

I. The Teaching: Muhammad, the Koran, the Sunna
II. The Fruits: Thirteen Centuries of Jihad
III. The Ambition: Infidel Submission

Dr. Trifkovic's book *The Sword of the Prophet* has sold over 60,000 copies and was described by Jeffrey Rubin, editor of the Conservative Book Club, as "easily the most important (not to mention courageous) book written in response to 9/11 that I've read—perhaps one of the two or three most important books I've read in my nearly six years as Club editor."

This concise series is perfect for journalists, clerics, lawmakers, students and teachers, Church groups, and anyone who needs a careful and well-researched introduction to Islam.

"Dr. Trifkovic understands Islam, knows we were knocking on the wrong door in Baghdad, and is devastating on the absence of historical memory. The problem of historical ignorance in today's English-speaking world, where claims about far-away lands and cultures are made on the basis of domestic multiculturalist assumptions, are hit right on the head by the author."
—Taki, the *American Conservative* (May 19, 2003)

Special introductory price (includes shipping & handling)

Audiotapes—$30.00
CD's—$35.00

For a limited time, we will include with each order a free copy of Dr. Trifkovic's 30-minute bare-bones introduction to Islam, "The Greatest Threat to Our Civilization," perfect for anyone who tells you we all worship the same god.

To order, call Cindy Link at (800) 383-0680.
Mention code R04CFIAITSS for audiotapes and code R04CFIAITSSCD for CD's.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"I'm going away. Perhaps to Charleston . . . where there's a little bit of grace and charm left in this world."
—Rhett Butler

The Rockford Institute and
Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture present
The 16th Annual Meeting of the
John Randolph Club

"Small Is Beautiful: The Politics and Culture of the Human Scale"

Join Thomas Fleming, Donald Livingston, Chilton Williamson, Jr., Clyde Wilson, and others at the Embassy Suites Historic Charleston, a beautifully restored 19th-century landmark that originally served as the Citadel Military College. Topics will include cultural and political secession, real *versus* virtual communities, commerce on the human scale, and authentic *versus* manufactured culture.

Special Saturday night black-tie banquet honoring the legacy of Samuel Francis.

December 9-10, 2005
Charleston,
South Carolina

Open to all *Chronicles* subscribers!

Come early for a three-day Convivium celebrating the history and literature of America's most beautiful city

"Charleston: America's Eternal City" December 7-9

The Convivivum will include a reception, three group meals, plantation visits, and guided walks though the only American city on the open sea. Lectures and discussions will include, among others:

—Charleston Twice Beseiged
—William Gilmore Simms and His Companions
—John C. Calhoun: America's Most Original Political Thinker

Stroll the Battery, visit the Old Market, admire antebellum mansions, and sample an American culinary tradition rivaled only by New Orleans!

NAME(S) _____

_____

ADDRESS _____

PHONE/FAX _____

EMAIL _____

A limited number of suites are available at a special rate of $129.00 per night, single/double occupancy, full breakfast included. To make reservations please call (888) 448-7829 and mention the John Randolph Club.

Room reservations must be made no later than November 14, 2005.

—N.B. All registration prices increase $30.00 after November 15

FULL REGISTRATION (ALL PANELS, FRIDAY EVENING OPENING ADDRESS AND RECEPTION, SATURDAY EVENING BANQUET AND PROGRAM)	JRC MEMBER ___	@ $225.00 EA=$_____
	NON-MEMBER ___	@ $250.00 EA=$_____
SATURDAY PANELS ONLY (NO MEALS, RECEPTIONS, OR EVENING PROGRAMS)	___	@ $100.00 EA=$_____
SATURDAY BLACK-TIE BANQUET HONORING SAMUEL FRANCIS	___	@ $100.00 EA=$_____
"CHARLESTON: AMERICA'S ETERNAL CITY" CONVIVIUM	___	@ $395.00 EA=$_____
	TOTAL ENCLOSED	$_____

Enclosed is my donation of $_____ so that worthy young students can attend this important event.
Make checks payable to The John Randolph Club and mail with completed form to
JRC, The Rockford Institute, 928 N. Main Street, Rockford, IL 61103 or pay by credit card by calling Cindy Link at (815) 964-5813

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED